❀ Learning Activities for Disadvantaged Children

SELECTED READINGS

Learning

Activities

for

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SELECTED READINGS

Disadvantaged

Children

Preface

In the spring of 1966, the School of Education at Western Michigan University undertook the task of designing and operating both a graduate and an undergraduate program to meet the specific needs of teachers who were or would be teaching disadvantaged children living in the inner city ghettos, isolated rural areas, and migrant camps. These programs, in which the authors were involved, were designed primarily to sensitize teachers and prospective teachers to the needs and values of various disadvantaged groups through a combination of actual experiences with disadvantaged people and academic study. During the five years the programs have been in operation, we believe we have learned how to create empathy in our students. This aspect of the program has been successful.

We have also found, however, that sensitivity and empathy are not enough. Our students, sensitive and eager as they were, found that they also needed knowledge about teaching methods and learning materials that are particularly effective with disadvantaged children. This book is an outgrowth of an intensive search to discover viable methods and materials, a search that, incidentally, led us to our own university's Psychology Department and a consideration of operant theory as a teaching method for the disadvantaged.

We have attempted to select readings that described practical learning activities and techniques that can be used by teachers in typical disadvantaged classroom situations. As a result, most of the articles in this book are descriptions of learning activities used and reported by teachers rather than scholarly analyses of complex educational problems. We believe that one can apply many of the suggested ideas, even those written for teachers of other grades and subjects, by the judicious use of thought and imagination.

We want to express our gratitude to the authors of the articles, particularly to our colleagues at Western Michigan University—Dr. Beth Schultz, Miss Esther Schroeder, Dr. Roger Ulrich, Dr. Scott Wood, and Miss Marilyn Arnett—who contributed previously unpublished materials. Their collective efforts represent a far richer and more varied approach to teaching disadvantaged children than the editors might have conceived working by themselves.

Kalamazoo, Michigan   J. B. B.
                                                                     G. S. M.

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Introduction

When teachers first begin thinking about teaching methods—usually at some point in their pre-service education—they are likely to base their thinking on some erroneous assumptions about the nature of teaching. The most prevalent, from the authors' experiences, is the mistaken idea that there are good and bad teaching methods that can be identified, learned, and applied in classrooms. This appears to be a reasonable assumption, especially in this age of scientific inquiry and seems to offer a logical point from which to begin to learn about teaching.

However, while educational research has uncovered some rather general principles of teaching, it has not been able to fully validate very many of them. And although these theories and principles are useful, they do not outline specific techniques or behaviors that teachers can use in their classroom. For example, motivating students by using their interests as the basis for an instructional program is a well-known principle and probably a valid one. However, knowledge of the research in this area would not give the practitioner a list of effective learning activities and techniques to use in carrying out an interest-centered lesson.

When teacher-educators think about the problem of methods, their diagnosis of it usually leads them along two diverse paths of thought. On one path are those whose faith in the scientific method is unshaken by our apparent failures; they see as the principal roadblocks to success our inability to properly define what we are measuring and the lack of adequate measuring instruments. They tell us that education is a young science. Give us time to learn how to apply the scientific method and we'll get results. Norman Wallen and Robert Travers summarized the present status of research methodology in education as follows: "Since teaching methods have arisen outside of a scientific context, studies which compare the effectiveness of one with another can hardly be conceived as constituting a program of scientific research. Studies of two different teaching methods are usually studies which compare two unknowns."[1]

On the other path are those who attribute our failure to find correct teaching procedures not to the improper application of empirical principles but to the use of these principles at all in the search for teaching methods. The methods of empirical science, they say, are appropriate for the study

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[1] Norman E. Wallen and Robert M. W. Travers, "Analysis and Investigation of Teaching Method," in *Handbook of Research on Teaching* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963), p. 466.

of molecules because each molecule is like all the rest. Furthermore, each molecule was like all the rest yesterday when we last studied it and will be like all the rest tomorrow when we use principles discovered today to explain its behavior tomorrow. The teaching-learning process, however, seems to vary with each teacher and each learner and also seems to vary with the same teacher and the same learner at any given moment in time. Thus, they argue, the scientific research for valid principles and methods of teaching is essentially different from the search for valid principles of physics and may well prove to be a fruitless one. Carl Rogers, for example, says "My experience has been that I cannot teach another person how to teach."[2] Others conceptualize teaching as the unique use and communication of one's self in a relationship with other humans rather than the employment of specific methods and techniques in a deliberate and purposeful attempt to modify another's behavior in predetermined ways. Results in teaching, according to this view, are influenced more by the teacher's belief about learners and teachers than by the methods or techniques he employs.

Whether the shortcomings of educational research are caused by the ineffective application of correct methodology or the effective application of incorrect methodology, teachers still must plan classroom activities for themselves and their students. The inability to predict whether or not a planned activity will "work" with a given group of students on any given day is, perhaps, the most troublesome problem in teaching. As Herbert Kohl puts it:

> At that moment in the classroom I had no criteria by which to decide and no time to think out my response. It would have been most just to react in thirty-six different ways to the thirty-six children, but there was no way for me to be most just at that moment. I had to react intuitively and immediately, as anyone in a classroom must. There is never time to plot every tactic.
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> . . . that means that the teacher must make mistakes. Intuitive, immediate responses can be right and magical . . . but they can also be peevish and petty, or merely stupid and cruel. Consistency of the teacher's response is frequently desirable and the word "consistency" is a favorite of professors at teacher training institutions.
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> . . . I've wanted to be consistent and have become more consistent. That seems the most that is possible, a slow movement toward consistency tempered by honesty. The teacher has to live with his own mistakes, as his pupils have to suffer them. Therefore, the teacher must learn to perceive them as mistakes and find direct or indirect ways to acknowledge his awareness of them and of his fallibility to his pupils.[3]

In the absence of critical self-examination as exhibited above, "the teacher resorts to routine and structure for protection."[4]

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[2] "Personal Thoughts on Teaching and Learning," *On Becoming a Person* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961), pp. 273–75.

[3] Herbert Kohl, *36 Children* (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1968), pp. 24–25.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 23.

Intuitive responses are based on some kind of broad strategy teachers use as a framework for planning; on a feeling of what type of response seems to be relevant that is, in turn, based on some analysis of the situational needs; on a teacher's characteristic style of relating to other human beings; and on his previously acquired perceptions about their motives, attitudes, and behaviors. Teachers can probably prepare themselves to make better intuitive responses but they cannot plan responses in advance that will be appropriate for any and every situation. As our students often ask us, "What, then, is a teacher supposed to do?" It seems to us that teachers can make some preparations. Our first suggestion is that each teacher develop some overall teaching strategies that are, in most aspects at least, consistent with his beliefs about the purposes of education, his conception of what he can and cannot do well in the classroom, and his beliefs about how children learn. Secondly, we suggest that each teacher learn how to identify and sort out the many different teaching behaviors that are used in classrooms such as supplying information, controlling student behavior, or giving directions. This needs to be done simply so that teachers can begin to recognize whether or not their behavior is appropriate for the particular purpose they have in mind. Most successful teachers, for example, behave quite differently when they are attempting to help students clarify values in a classroom discussion than when they tell students what to do during a fire drill.

Thirdly, every teacher should know how to use a variety of techniques and should be able to carry out a number of different kinds of learning activities. Lectures, field trips, films, encounter groups, making scrapbooks, collecting leaves, using a basal reader, reading a story, using reinforcement, and putting up a bulletin board are all techniques and activities that can be learned by teachers. However, there are no fool-proof recipes one can use in learning how to apply any of them and there is no guarantee that any will always and everywhere be successful. Their effectiveness will depend largely upon the teacher's skill in analyzing how well they fit his purposes, and the needs, characteristics, and readiness of the particular group of individual students he is teaching at the time. Good teachers of the disadvantaged manage to make these kinds of decisions without a computer. From experience, they know themselves and their students; they plan things to do with or for their students and carry them out; they know when and how to modify or revise their plans as they carry them through; and, perhaps most importantly, they recognize that they will still make judgments and decisions that are unsatisfactory in some way.

The readings in this book are concerned primarily with strategies and techniques and not with other things we have suggested you need to learn. These aspects of teaching, however, are an essential element in any teaching strategy or technique. A teacher's information about his students, his perceptions of his own role in the classroom, and his characteristic mode of communicating with and relating to others shape the method he uses into something which is uniquely his and all of these facets of himself are

communicated to children as he teaches. In short, whatever his methods, the teacher teaches himself, and what he is probably determines how successful his methods are.

However, your most immediate problem as a teacher of disadvantaged children, or of any other children for that matter, is the present rather than some vague introspection into what you are. The students come into your room each day and wait expectantly for something to happen. What have you planned for them today and what criteria have you used in making those plans? Our objective is to help the teacher or prospective teacher plan educational activities for educationally disadvantaged students.

If you are presently teaching, where did you locate the learning activities you used today? You probably discovered them by looking back on your own experiences; by reading your teacher's manual, a curriculum guide, your old lesson plans, or an account of another teacher's ideas in some journal; by listening to a colleague talk about what his students have done or will be doing; or, possibly, you have invented a new learning activity never tried before. This book of readings is compiled with the hope that you will discover some new learning activities or some unique applications of learning activities you are already familiar with. As one experienced teacher stated, the first principle of good teaching is to "borrow" as many ideas as you possibly can from other teachers.

Before you try a new learning activity with your own students, you should do some thinking about what to expect from it. First of all, you must believe in experimentation. If you are teaching disadvantaged students, you really have no choice except to continue to try new learning activities or modified versions of old ones because most of those we now use have not been particularly effective. However, if you look for learning activities that have been proven through research to be effective for children everywhere, at all times, by all types of teachers and that can simply be added to your present instructional program and teaching style, you probably will not find any learning activities.

It is important to know that someone else's idea may not work in your situation if applied in a rote, ritualistic, step-by-step manner. You will have to adapt it to fit your teaching objectives and teaching style and you should give it a thorough trial, remodeling it as you proceed, so that it becomes your method rather than someone else's. Teachers discard too many good ideas too soon because they attempt to apply them exactly as they are described by another teacher, expecting them to produce the same results. Effective teachers experiment continually. However, they do not discard any new idea for all time nor do they continue using it in its original form. Every possible learning activity, even those developed by teachers who are teaching subjects or age groups different from yours, should be accepted as something which may be worth trying with some group at some time. We urge you, therefore, to read all of the articles, not just those that pertain to your subject or age group.

As you read the articles in the book you will notice that many are based on five teaching strategies.

1. Learning activities are more likely to be meaningful for disadvantaged students when they enable students to become actively involved in the pursuit of a concrete, tangible goal. Making a map of the Yorktown Campaign will be more meaningful than reading or hearing about it. Preparing a letter to the editor expressing a class's viewpoints on the Vietnam War will be more meaningful than an aimless class discussion or lecture about it or an imaginary letter to a non-existing person or agency. It is much more meaningful and exciting to do and to see things than merely to talk about them. This is a good strategy to use in teaching any group of students, particularly the younger children, even though middle-class children adjust more readily to a verbal, vicarious environment because they are tolerant of learning activities that limit them to the verbal activities—reading, writing, listening and speaking—and that do not have a tangible goal. They probably do not learn much more than disadvantaged children in such situations but appear as if they do because they are better conformists and verbalists than disadvantaged children. A related strategy is that of teaching skills such as reading, writing, and spelling in a functional setting. A learning activity designed to teach spelling should provide the student with a situation in which correct spelling is needed to achieve a tangible goal and is related to the problem of writing. Producing a class newspaper can thus be a more effective learning activity for the teaching of spelling than the usual spelling lists and tests. The various multi media approaches that are currently being developed for use with disadvantaged children are good examples of an effort to make learning more "real" and exciting. It is the belief of the authors that this area holds much promise.

2. Even these learning activities may be meaningless for disadvantaged children unless they are related somehow to their experiences and their culture. (Again, they may be equally irrelevant for advantaged students but they have learned how to pacify their teachers and play the stereotyped role of the student with more conviction than the disadvantaged child can muster.) For this reason, a social studies unit based on the Civil Rights movement will probably be more meaningful and produce more motivation than a unit based on the medieval church. The medieval church can be meaningful for students if they find that a study of the church yields information or ideas that help them to better understand their own experience and culture. Do not dismiss learning activities or instructional materials simply because they have no obvious relationships with the lives and experiences of students.

3. Learning activities are obviously more meaningful for those students who can do them than for those who cannot. This means that your learning activities should provide opportunities for all of your students to successfully achieve or complete them. Successful completion of learning activities is enhanced by focusing on broad concepts rather than on isolated facts. More of your students will succeed if your learning activity is designed to provide

each of them with an understanding of some of the causes of the Civil War or if it provides each learner with an opportunity to present *his* perceptions of Lincoln's attitude toward slavery than if it is focused on a narrow objective such as memorizing the names of the men in Lincoln's Cabinet. In some cases all the students in a given class need a background of facts to proceed through the course. As a general rule, whenever all your students are supposed to be learning the same thing and are using the same materials, they should be allowed to pace themselves as they proceed through the material. It is preferable, however, to find a variety of materials that enable all students to achieve the single goal you feel they all need to reach.

4. Learning activities may or may not be more meaningful for students when they help to plan them. Students sometimes manage to plan meaningless activities for themselves although they are less likely to do so than the teacher who makes all plans and decisions without ever consulting his students. However, students will probably generate more motivation and more enthusiasm for carrying out activities that they have helped plan and this is reason enough to include them in some of the planning you do, particularly if you are teaching older children.

5. Finally, learning activities and classroom life, in general, are more meaningful when you and your students know each other well. Many of the articles in the book include some information on the special characteristics of disadvantaged children. Although this information is useful in learning to understand your students, you must use it wisely. There are dangers in classifying children as disadvantaged or advantaged.

No two human beings fit exactly into the same classification, and classifying them in this way makes it more difficult to know them as individuals. We can only *really* know and understand others as individuals, not as members of a class or a category. In most schools, some children are always classified in the borderline mentality category. This seems to simplify instructional problems because the teacher now uses all of the methods that have been developed to teach the borderline child and some of these methods are sure to be sound. However, the youngster does not fit exactly into the borderline classification because the classification itself is a manmade abstraction which describes a general category of people rather than any of the individuals in it. For this reason, some of the teaching methods are also sure to be unsound for some of the children. Of greater consequence is the teacher's natural tendency to see and relate to the youngster as a "borderline" rather than as a unique person with experiences and perceptions of his own. This hinders the development of his individuality and obstructs any of the teacher's genuine attempts to really get to know him. And, of course, the consequences of classification can be tragic if an error was made in classifying the child in the first place, a situation most of us have read or heard about because it is by no means uncommon.

In reading about the characteristics of disadvantaged children, then, do not assume that any one of your students has all or has even one of the

characteristics of the abstraction, "the disadvantaged child." You must know him as an individual and you can do this only if you resist the temptation to use a disadvantaged-advantaged classification scheme as a conceptual tool in relating to individual children in your room.

What, then, are some of the characteristics of some disadvantaged children? First of all, he is *not* non-verbal. He has the gift of language but it is not middle-class English. He does not lack experiences. He has had as much experience as any other child but he has not had middle-class white experiences that seem to be the crucial variable in determining the child's success or lack of it in school. His parents do value education; their apparent hostility and indifference to school is a result of the school's failure to provide success experiences for him. He *does* need concrete and immediate kinds of reinforcement and in that sense he is oriented to the present rather than the future, but so is the middle-class child—the difference being that the middle-class child is more likely to get immediate reinforcement because he does more praiseworthy things in school. Behavior modification techniques, which are discussed in Part Eight, work with disadvantaged children not entirely because of the extrinsic rewards that are offered for learning but partly because the youngster is reinforced by discovering that he is able to complete successfully the tasks he is asked to perform.

Lastly, while the disadvantaged child is economically, educationally, and sometimes psychologically disadvantaged, he is *not* culturally disadvantaged. His is a rich culture as Francs Ianni points out in the first article in the book. He *is* culturally different. His cultural heritage may be Afro-American, Mexican-American, American Indian or lower-class white. In any case, his chief problem in school is learning how to cope with the demands of a culture that is, in significant aspects, different from his own. The teacher's principal problem is learning to appreciate and understand the values and behaviors the child brings from his culture, although he must again be sure that he is seeing the individual child and *his* culture rather than a general class of people and *their* culture.

Your responsibilities as a teacher must include teaching the culturally different child how to survive in the general or middle-class culture of the school without belittling his culture or trying to force him to accept middle-class culture in the process. You must teach him this before you can teach him anything else. Your teaching must be rooted in a kind of unquestioned faith that he is capable of learning despite his supposed cultural deprivation, that he wants to learn despite his apparent lack of motivation, and that you *can* teach him in spite of all that you have been told about how little influence you have over the other factors that shape his life. With this kind of blind faith, you can plan learning activities for the culturally different child. The long hours you spend searching for or creating new kinds of materials and learning activities will be worthwhile.

PART ONE

Some General Considerations

The selections in Part One do not deal with specific methods or techniques, but we recommend reading the articles because an overall perspective is needed as a *guide through the many articles that follow.* Ianni's article is placed first because it affords a comprehensive view of the problems inherent in teaching disadvantaged children and should be read by all would-be crusaders who want to "rescue" the disadvantaged from an impoverished culture. Teachers of the disadvantaged cannot function like nineteenth-century missionaries carrying a superior culture to an inferior one.

Kvaraceus proposes twelve excellent guidelines for teachers of disadvantaged children that he feels will compensate, in part, for a lack of validated teaching techniques. He suggests using the instructional interview as a technique for research, diagnosis, teaching, and guidance. Unfortunately, he leaves to the reader the task of filling in details needed to use the technique. Grotberg then reviews what little research there is relative to teaching methods for the disadvantaged child, and Black provides a good summary of what we know about disadvantaged children. Finally, Cavanagh and Price propose a carefully considered theory of how information and concepts can be successfully taught to disadvantaged adolescents and adults.

The articles in this section are not particularly easy to read. However these selections will provide the teacher of disadvantaged children with a frame of reference to use in selecting teaching methods and materials.

The Arts as Agents for Social Change: An Anthropologist's View

FRANCIS A. J. IANNI

Man as a species is a relatively recent addition to life on earth, but in that short span of two million years he has managed to transform the earth into his private domain. Much of this transformation and his apparent refusal to follow other animals in accepting his world as he found it proceed from his mood and mode of questioning and from his enduring belief in his own perfectability. During most of these two million years he has asked why things happened and wondered how he could turn these happenings to his own benefit. His quest for answers and solutions eventually reached beyond the land to the sea and the skies as he sought to reduce the riddles of his environment to certainty and control. He developed an art, a technology, and eventually a science which systematized this reduction and built up a body of knowledge so imposing that today we truly believe that we can do *anything* we want to, given the time and the notion.

This same self-assurance and continuance have led us to one of the great mythologies of our time: the belief system which says that the good things in life—beauty, truth, security, and love—are now almost within our grasp. We have only to apply ourselves, our knowledge, and our skills, and the Great Society is ours. And not content to enjoy these alone, we actually presume to believe that we can somehow distill all of these joys and pleasures into some opiate yet palatable form and dispense them like wonder drugs to those less fortunate than we. We give proud names to programs designed to prescribe and distribute this American middle-class psychodelica—Upward Bound, Head Start, Higher Horizons, and *Allianza Para El Progresso*. We plan the campaign to eradicate misery and ignorance—which we equate—and to destroy the automobile graveyard and the slum with all of the precision and paraphernalia of a military operation. In fact, if some sensitive

soul had not stopped to consider the ethnic slur inherent in the resulting acronym, the anti-poverty program would have been officially called the War on Poverty. We are, in effect, declaring open, total war on poverty, on ignorance, on deprivation, and on want, and we intend to win, no matter what the cost. The strategy is clear; it remains now only to decide on the tactics, and on the character and composition of the occupation once the battle is won. That is to say, we know that education is to be the major weapon and that we need only decide how we are going to use it; we know that the culture of poverty must be annihilated and that all that remains is the bothersome question of what we have to offer in its place to induce its members to unconditional surrender. And yet, we might well ponder the terrible consequences of victory, for what, in fact, do we have to offer as a replacement for the culture of poverty? In the cognitive domain we have some evidence that better schooling can lead to better jobs, but what are the affective consequences of the cultural revolution we propose? Will we make use of existing cultural motifs in the lives of these people, or will we, confident in our own excellence, find new ways to assert our cultural advantage?

There is abundant evidence from similar attacks on a "cultureless" or "deprived" people to indicate that if we persist and insist on replacing the culture of poverty with something precious to us but alien to them, we can expect the same disquieting and even disastrous consequences as elsewhere. In Africa and Asia, for example, the effects of efforts by colonial administrators to give to indigenous peoples a share in English or Dutch, Spanish or French culture is now evident in the problems of developing nations in these areas. The more fully the African or the Asian became immersed in the foreign culture, the more he felt and continues to feel the helpless loneliness and rage of the man without a past. For, whatever the motivation of the European educator in imparting *his* culture to the native peoples, he was assuming that his past would become theirs and, except for a few interesting archaeological ruins, that their history began on the day of contact. The consequences of coercive cultural change can, in fact, be horrendous if the destruction of the old culture reaches deeply into the ethos of that society. W. H. R. Rivers, in his "Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia," pointed to the destructive results on the unifying ethos of Melanesian culture and society when the British imposed their own cultural norms and prohibited head-hunting. Now, head-hunting had never been very popular in England, and if someone had suggested to the British that head-hunting was the organizing principle, the passion and the fountain of social and individual ambition in Melanesian society, they would surely have responded with incredulity. But it was so; each head-hunting expedition took years to plan and accomplish, and the preparations and aftermath were the glue that held Melanesian social organization together. Without the stimulation of these ritual functions, the Melanesians literally died of a sense of futility and boredom. They had nothing to live for. Someone else, perhaps the poet or

the philosopher will have to ponder over the question of the justification of the British in abolishing what was to them an abhorrent, nasty habit but which actually took fewer lives in the long run than resulted from its abolishment. My own interest in recounting it here is to indicate that social betterment, even planned social change and reform, can be disastrous unless we comprehend and appreciate how it is perceived by those undergoing change and how the change relates to what went before. Now, what of the role of the arts in social change?

There would appear to me rather consistent agreement among anthropologists and artists on the role of the arts as agents of social change: many see the arts, either in their developmental force, the "inner logic of art forms themselves," in the art tradition, or in a "world soul," as the spirit and image of a particular culture or society. Thus, the critic Sir Herbert Read sees in "Romanticism . . . the social and intellectual forces . . . [that have] been transforming the civilization of the Western World . . . and all the arts . . . both as cause and symptom, in the general process of history." Similarly in his article, "Style," in *Anthropology Today*, Meyer Schapiro suggests that any given culture or epoch of culture has only one style, or a limited range of styles to it, and this permeates the whole of society. Others, the historical materialists in particular, see in art styles the vehicles of social and even social-class ideology. Still others view the artist as the principal agent of change in a culture: Melville Herskovits, for example, held that "in every society, the artist is the experimenter, the innovator, the rebel." In each case, however, a careful reading and a few moments of reflection indicate that he experiments, he innovates, and he rebels within the bounds of the culture that has conditioned him. The art historian, for example, who describes the Italian Futurists as rejecting the Italian culture which they found around them in museums and decaying *palazzi* must look to social and political developments in Italy and realize that this was a culture seeking a new, twentieth century identity and that the Futurists were but a part of this movement. And today's rash of rebellious, innovative art forms—pop art, junk sculpture, and the "happening"—are a brazen reply to a blasé public that demands both individualism and conformity from the artist. In these new art forms, today's artist replies to John Dewey's stern dictum that "Art is experience" with a thumb-to-the-nose reply that all of culture is up for grabs and "all experience *is* art." But note again that this rebellious attitude is peculiarly associated with other forms of protest from civil rights to sexual freedom and from antiwar protests to justice for Timothy Leary. What I am attempting to say here is really two different but related things at once: (1) the question of whether art and artists "lead" social change is, for me at least, an unanswerable and unimportant question and (2) that regardless of whether art leads or follows, stimulates or responds, I would suggest that when we speak of the "culturally disadvantaged" we admit by the term itself that this age of American culture has nothing better to offer them as a cultural milieu than what they already have.

Having said these things let me look to three orders of evidence to support what I have said: (1) the popular culture as a source of cultural enrichment for the disadvantaged; (2) art, folk culture, passion, and individualization in modern society; and (3) a farce and some tables as examples of popular and folk culture. First, I contend that in my experience with the "disadvantaged," I have seen very few programs in the arts which do not attempt to take the best of what "we" have to offer in order to help "them" fit better into our world. The motivation here is commendable, but it is the same old story of the colonial administrator we saw earlier. At its best this means an attempt to reproduce the art forms of middle-class, white America in a form that is both acceptable and comprehensible to individuals who are not a part of this cultural heritage. At its worst it means a patronizing attempt to uplift the art consciousness of a people who are again, "culturally disadvantaged." In either case, we are usually dealing not with the folk culture of the group under contact but rather we are acting as purveyors of popular culture. I do not make the term popular culture synonymous with mass media; rather, I would distinguish folk culture from popular culture by indicating that in folk culture there is a creative sharing of an art form based upon common tradition among those who feel some involvement in what is produced.

Popular culture on the other hand I would describe as the logical companion of mass production that has its vital force in entertainment rather than in creativity and is assembled for somebody. Examples of folk culture abound in primitive society where art is expressive of group relationships and in the personal contact of the producer and the consumer of art. Shelley could still say that poets are "the acknowledged legislators" of the world. In popular culture, however, we seem to have lost the artist, any creative elite or, indeed, despite the fact that they call the tune in terms of what gets produced, even a creative audience. By and large the audience is present to be entertained, amused, or in some way "enriched." Their involvement in any sense of understanding, feeling, or re-creation of the culture which produced the art form is, at best, minimal. I sensed this estrangement of art forms from the culture most intensely recently when I visited a museum specializing in primitive art. Even accounting for my obvious bias as an anthropologist, it still seemed to me that the Guro carving from the Ivory Coast or the Bambara mask from the Sudan were out of context and meaningless as they were viewed side by side. Why are objects from different tribal groups placed together in the same way as great paintings in the Uffizi or Metropolitan? How can anyone hope to understand the intense meaning the mask has for its creators without seeing how it fits into the culture of the people? Certainly placing it, as I would, in an ethnographic collection would show only minimal cultural relationships, but this does indicate a different approach, a focus on meaning rather than viewing form and beauty out of context.

Ortega y Gasset says that art is like a window with a garden behind it.

The viewer may focus his gaze either on the window or the garden behind it. Most people, he contends, focus on the garden itself and not many of us "are capable of adjusting their perceptive apparatus to the windowpane and the transparency that is the work of art." But when we are dealing with our own culture, with a social environment which is comprehensible, the function of the art form becomes almost iconic and, in Ortega y Gasset's words, people "understand a means through which they are brought into contact with interesting human affairs." Robert Redfield, the anthropologist who loved both the study of culture and art, stated this same proposition as follows:

"Art is a way of access to people and passions, differing from common experience in only accidental qualities, being perhaps less utilitarian, more intense and free from painful consequences." In short, for most people who look on painting or sculpture that presents familiar life, it is a way, intensified and liberated, of having the usual content of human experience. In so far as the imminent, aesthetic values are appreciated also, they support this experiencing of the human and add their special pleasurable quality. This element of pleasure, together with whatever unusual treatment of the subject has been given to it by the artist, may further increase the experience, in totality, by moving the viewer's imagination to conceive aspects of reality or of possibility which otherwise he would not encounter. Art pushes our experience just a little farther.

Art, then, is to me both a re-creation of what it is like to be alive and an intensely personal experience. Art, like love, can be sensed and experienced only as an intense personal relationship. Art, like love, cannot be contrived or manufactured to suit someone else's taste. When this becomes necessary, art becomes entertainment, and this is what present popular culture has become. Created on schedule as a response to the demands of the popular market place, it neither amplifies nor negates our cultural world—it just makes it absurd. It does not even offer an escape anymore. Let me confess that when things get dull or bothersome, when I am anxious or disturbed, I dream of escaping the lonely life in the crowd by escaping popular culture as well as material wants and drives. I see myself living in the richness of the moment, on a sun-drenched beach and running my toes through the water. But such experiences are rare, and I cannot tell you what the feeling is like or re-create it for you. In fact, I can only share it by experiencing it with someone I love. Here is the ultimate in the absurdity of trying to act as an agent for introducing one cultural mode for another. It is what Camus saw as absurd in modern man's attempt to exist among the confusion of values which is our popular culture; and it is what Heraclitus meant many years ago when he observed that man is estranged from that with which he is most familiar, and he must continuously seek to rediscover it.

If I were a Negro in Bedford-Stuyvesant or a Puerto Rican in East Harlem, I would not for one moment consider giving up my rich—if disadvantaged—culture for the lonely general culture any more than I have

personally been willing to give up the marginality of being Italian-American, despite the fact that most of my colleagues tell me it is tension-producing and anxiety-ridden to be in such cultural conflict. Oscar Lewis has done a brilliant job of showing how rich and comforting the culture of poverty can be and repeatedly illustrates that what causes the disjunctures and the disharmonies is our attempt to tell them that they don't know what they are missing. One need only spend some time in the culture of poverty to realize that there is a cultural stimulation, in fact, a source of pleasure. But in this puritanical age we distrust pleasure because it suggests triviality. Just as learning which is fun is suspect, so living *dolce far niente* is condemned unless you can afford it. Our world forces us to think clearly and logically and to live as if we enjoy it, or it does not permit us to survive. We revel in the envy of the *flamboyant* gesture or the *Buddhist's* immersion in nonbeing. But at best we must restrict these pleasures to our spare time as Sunday afternoon painters or cocktail-hour philosophers. If these are the rewards we have to offer as experience and art, then forget it.

Let me sum up here by saying that once again it does not really matter *if* the popular culture is as valueless and absurd as I think it is, because what really matters is that if the artist wants to act as an agent of social and cultural change he must work with and within the society and the culture he hopes to change. He, like the anthropologist, must become as much a part of it as he can and build from within rather than attempting to impose from without. And to do this we must understand—not appreciate, but understand—the culture of poverty.

How well, for example, do we understand the culture of the American Negro? We have been looking at Negroes in this country for three hundred years, and yet we continue to see only what we want to see. And often, he shows us only what we want to see. We see him, we hear him, we may even appreciate him as an artist; but we are still looking at the garden instead of looking through the window at black culture in this country. Consider, for example, the simple fact that Negro entertainers, no matter how well established, have developed the maddening knack of giving us only what we think we like to see and hear. Their virtuosity is incredible, and yet they entertain us with a parody of what our popular culture really is. Listen carefully to Ella Fitzgerald or Pearl Bailey burlesquing a romantic ballad, or watch the Harlem Globetrotters fake, feint, and shuffle, break every rule, and make a mockery of a game of basketball. They burlesque the Negro as an athlete, but they always manage to defeat their foil, an all-white team.

Negroes purvey our popular culture for the commodity it is. They know its cheapness, its unreality. Their persons having been sold, literally, in our society, they have some acquaintance with commercialism; they know how to sell and are in a better position to learn what is not for sale. This is what Mahalia Jackson seems to mean, in singing only spirituals, although she sings them with a jazz beat. As a veteran performer, the Negro is, in his very existence, the most sophisticated critic of our romanticism, our social

etiquette, our ethics, our fashions, and our enthusiasms. He cannot even
deceive himself completely when he becomes a bourgeois; it is all too new.
Negroes as performers add an extraordinary dimension to ordinary activities.
The criticism is more devastating because it is in the doing—not cerebral,
but spontaneous, mimetic, issuing out of the ambivalent experience that
every actor has of the act and of reality. Were they to speak to us directly
of what they know, not in exhortation, not in threat, but about our shared
cultural fraudulence, I think that we would laugh until our throats rattled.
Stanley Diamond has illustrated the farcical "theatre-of-the-absurd" quality
of Negro involvement in the popular culture. He describes as follows that
great cultural double-entendre, the heavyweight championship affair between
Liston and Clay. (This material is taken from an early draft of an article
eventually published as Black Farce, White Lies; "Dissent," Fall, 1966.)
First of all, both men are in our cultural world self-acknowledged profes-
sional outsiders, members of what one might call the "establishment of the
outside." Liston is an ex-con and scofflaw. Clay (Muhammad Ali), the star
performer, is a Black Muslim who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca and
a celebrated trip to Africa. Like Liston, he is unschooled, although obviously
clever, and manifestly rejects the white world. He even managed to fail the
draft board intelligence test, twice. Appropriately enough, Clay had been a
United States Olympic champion boxer, and he understood what it meant
for him to fight in the name of our country.

Born in the South, Clay had successfully turned himself into an
Aesopian, a fabulous character. His famous rhymes and manufactured rages
against opponents have a bowdlerized folk quality. One senses a kind of
reverse "Uncle Remus" in Clay's act. The characters fight among themselves,
but they always outwit the man. Clay embraces them all and draws them
into his fabled world, precisely because he alone, in his exuberance, exposes
the absurdity of their professional lives in white society. He can do this
because he is young, rich, and has by means of his new religion apparently
withdrawn from the phantom circle of statuses conferred by whites.

Liston simply plays it cool, speaking astringently and tersely when ques-
tioned, disinterested even in appearing interested in the conventional opinion
of mankind—both of them champions, arrived, glorified puppets of the
white crowd, but puppets who have learned to pull their own strings, each
in his peculiar way.

The event began under a flood of extremely powerful and hot television
lights and was over about two minutes later with Clay knocking Liston out.
So far as their behavior on stage was concerned, intuition, improvisation, and
mutual interest provide the clue; no precise battle plan was necessary.

When Clay was asked, immediately afterwards, what punch knocked
out Liston, he allowed that it was either a left-hook or a right-cross, but re-
fused to commit himself before he saw the video-tape. After viewing the
video-tape, which was shown him immediately, he explained that the curious
little punch which did the ostensible damage had been taught him by Step'n

Fetchit, who had learned it, as a boy, from the great Negro heavyweight boxer, Jack Johnson. Fetchit, the movie actor, who had made a fortune out of, and immortalized, the stereotype of the shuffling, "Yes, boss," slow-thinking, but sly, Negro, an adept at evasion, had been Clay's constant companion in training. One might not have expected Fetchit to have been in the camp of the Black Muslims, unless we are aware that the real Fetchit could not possibly have been the personality projected, and then it seems inevitable. He became a central figure in the little myth into which Clay was turning the Lewiston affair.

The question remains why the whole affair was executed so unimpressively, so transparently. But that was part of the farce. In retrospect, it appears as a near-perfect burlesque of a heavyweight championship fight. There were no visible punches, no bruises, no count. The actors know their audience. They have known it for generations. The audience will fill in what it pleases. As usual, we will ascribe to it the Negro behavior which fits our assumptions. We will insist that the affair was either a fix, or a mysteriously authentic fight (one veteran white sportswriter described the perfect punch in detail; a well-known sporting journal tried to photograph it as such). What we will resist seeing is that two physically tremendous men put on an entertainment for a society in which they do not believe. With due consideration for themselves, they refused to batter each other into the ground for the pleasure of a predominantly white audience, according to white rules of the game, for prizes which they had already achieved by other means.

If this is an accurate description of Negro-white relations in popular culture, there are, however, happier encounters in which artists can work with the "disadvantaged" to create and recreate a new cultural world which has all of the comfort of the old along with the security producing elements of the new. My colleague, Herbert Kohl, in an article which will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *New York Review of Books*, has been tremendously successful in working with children from a "disadvantaged culture," developing a pride in the old as well as an understanding of the general culture. Kohl, who is now with us at the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute, began his career as a teacher in East Harlem. One of his early experiences was with the reaction of The Establishment to two poems written by two different eleven-year-old girls in his class. One poem received high praise and was published in the school paper:

> SHOP WITH MOM
>
> I love to shop with mom
> And talk to the friendly grocer
> And help her make the list
> seems to make us closer.

The other was bitterly condemned when Kohl tried to have it published in the same paper. It was full of misspellings and grammatical errors,

it did not rhyme, and besides it was on a subject, said the teacher-editor,
that an eleven-year-old "just could not know anything about":

> THE JUNKIES
>
> When they are
> in the street
> they pass it
> along to each
> other but when
> they see the
> police they would
> run some would
> just stand still
> and be beat
> so pity ful
> that they want
> to cry.

Eventually, Kohl was able to work with the children by casting aside the
establishment view (and leaving the school system in the process), and the
story of his learning of their culture and their acceptance of the new pat-
terns he developed with them makes fascinating and intensely valuable
reading for anyone interested in working with youngsters from "disadvan-
taged" areas. What is important here for us is that eventually he and they
were able to create a new set of patterns which did not negate the old cul-
ture but still gave them a window into our world. For example, after a long
series of experiences with reading classical mythologies and creating their
own myths (the kids made up some wonderful mythical characters with
names like "Skyview," "Missile," and "Morass"), here are two fables created
by two eleven-year-old children which illustrate their mixing of cultural
worlds:

> Once upon a time there was a pig and a cat. The cat kept saying old dirty
> pig who want to eat you. And the pig replied when I die I'll be made use of, but
> when you die you'll just rot. The cat always thought he was better than the pig.
> When the pig died he was used as food for the people to eat. When the cat
> died he was buried in old dirt. Moral: Live dirty die clean.
>
> Once a boy was standing on a huge metal flattening machine. The flattener
> was coming down slowly. Now this boy was a boy who love insects and bugs. The
> boy could have stopped the machine from coming down but there were two
> ladie bugs on the button and in order to push the button he would kill the two
> ladie bugs. The flattener was about half inch over his head now he made a
> decision he would have to kill the ladie bugs he quickly pressed the button. The
> machine stoped he was saved and the ladie bugs were dead. Moral: smash or be
> smashed.

As Kohl points out, these fables exude the exhilaration felt by children
when they are allowed freedom to create after being stifled in the class-
room. But they also illustrate what is most challenging in the involvement

of the artist in the world of the "disadvantaged"—the ability to help create a new reality. Artists have always created their own reality, and I suppose that when you do this in social and political rather than aesthetic terms, you are really creating utopias. Perhaps this is why utopias are usually full of artists. If utopias have failed in the past I do not think this should cause us too much concern. The real value of a utopia, after all, has always been what happens once it is disassembled and everyone goes back into society carrying with him elements of what he learned in this new world. This is what happened to the communistic utopias in the past, and it is precisely what is appearing in our experience with the Peace Corps today. As valuable as they may be in Zambia or Peru, their real contribution is not in what they give to foreign nations but in what they bring back to us in a new world view. This is also what can come from a realistic entente among artists, scientists, and the culture of poverty. What skills you have and we have can help to create a new folk culture which faces the changing world of the slum and the ghetto and develops programs for life as it will be rather than as we would like to describe it.

Robert Redfield used to tell a fable, which for some reason or other Aesop overlooked, about a hen who was giving a survival lecture to her chicks while they were being swept down stream by a flash flood, precariously balanced on the roof of a chicken coop. One of the lesson units in her hurried curriculum concerned the future sources of food supply, but as she looked at the trees of the forest along the banks of the river, she realized that she remembered very little about forests because she had been away from them so long and that she wasn't doing too well in telling the chicks about food sources in the forest. So she called out to a wise old owl in the trees whom she saw interviewing other wild birds about their reaction to this stress-provoking flood. "Professor Owl," she said, "won't you be my consultant and help me teach my chicks about life in the woods, for you stay there and study it and are indeed a wise old owl?" But the owl had overheard what the hen had been telling the chicks, and he was astonished and appalled at how scientifically inaccurate and superficial her information was. Besides, he was anxious to proceed with his interviewing and hurry back to his study to speculate on how individuals react when placed suddenly in a new and frightening situation. You see, he was working on a paper on this subject. So he pretended not to hear the hen and went on with his interviewing. Left to her own devices, struggling to maintain order among her chicks, and occasionally having to grasp at one as it fell off the coop into the water, she went on as best she could and described what she thought food sources in the forest would be like. The chicks, as resilient and eager as chicks everywhere, took rather well to it, and later, when the coop finally came to rest far, far down stream, the chicks bid farewell to their mother hen and set off bravely to begin their adult lives—in a treeless meadow.

Three problems for chickens, owls, and humans emerge from the ad-

ventures of mother hen and her chicks: **(1)** How do we go about making sure that the owl and the chickens talk to each other before the flood, **(2)** How do we take into account in educational planning the fact that the chicks we are preparing for life in the forest may have to face life in a desert, **(3)** How do we get owls, who know a great deal about forests but not too much about chicks, working with those who know all about chicks but can not see the forest for the trees?

❋ Programs for the Disadvantaged:
Promise or Pretense?

WILLIAM C. KVARACEUS

During the summer of 1965, sixty-one institutes for Teachers of the Disadvantaged were held under Title XI of the Amended National Defense Education Act (NDEA). In addition, two institutes are being held during this academic year. These institutes enrolled and paid 2,453 teachers to help disadvantaged youngsters stay in school and learn.

Almost all of the institutes were structured around three major learning experiences: 1) understanding and appreciation of the historical, cultural, social, psychological, and economic origins and backgrounds of the American Negro and other depressed ethnic groups; 2) special materials and methods for instructing disadvantaged learners; and 3) some form of sensitivity training, with varying emphasis on self, perception of others, and group dynamics based on participatory group experiences. Most training centers also provided a practicum and field trips—it is hoped with types of disadvantaged youngsters with whom the teacher would be engaged when she returned to the classroom in the fall.

Few summer institutes attempted any evaluation of their training programs. In fact, no funds were available under the NDEA to conduct any serious research activity. A few institutes, such as the one at Tufts, were able to interest cooperating institutions and agencies to provide personnel and assistance for evaluation purposes, but always in limited amounts. In measuring for self-insight or self-awareness, human heartedness, and rationality of thinking with respect to various ethnic groups, we have noted in our preliminary runs little change in self-insight or self-awareness but a significant shift in human heartedness, together with an increase in irrational thinking in favor of various ethnic groups tantamount to a love prejudice (example: denial that there are mentally retarded or delinquent Negroes).

The lack of any built-in funding for research and evaluation gave rise to Project AWARE, supported by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity and the U.S. Office of Education and directed by Gordon Klopf of Bank Street College of Education with the assistance of an Advisory Committee.

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The Project attempted systematically via campus visitation, controlled interview with staff and student teachers, and classroom observation to gather data on the operation of the institutes. These data are still in the process of analysis, but a few preliminary findings are available.

In reporting on what they had gained from the NDEA summer institutes for teachers of the disadvantaged, 1,084 enrollees in 33 institutes submitted comments in answer to the request that they list understandings and techniques they had gained thus far. Twice as many understandings were cited as techniques (the term techniques was used to cover strategies, methods, and materials which were designed to translate new insights into actual teacher behavior in the classroom). It is not that techniques are less important, but teacher trainers are uncertain, and it is more difficult to indicate how to implement and integrate understandings and findings of behavioral scientists into more effective teaching behavior. Eighty-one per cent of the comments concerning needed *changes* in instructional content of the institutes asked for more emphasis on strategies, techniques, and materials, and for practical application of new insights to teaching behavior in the classroom.

Many of the teacher participants—some of them old hands at teaching in the schools of the inner city—sounded as though they had been short-changed. Following are some verbatim comments made on one institute:

> It would be more beneficial, I believe, to listen to authorities on how to teach these youngsters in a specific subject such as math, English, reading, etc.

> The institute has not concentrated enough on improving the methods and materials related to learning styles of disadvantaged youths. Certainly the practicum portion of the institute has motivated me in wanting to adopt new materials and methods.

> I also believe we could use more time in the interchange of ideas and techniques used by the many teachers of disadvantaged children as part of the over-all program.

> Perhaps a laboratory group of disadvantaged children would have been helpful. Here different teaching styles, methods, and materials could have been experimented with and evaluated.

> The methods and materials that we were to receive and try out never came forth.

This preliminary finding I consider more reassuring than depressing. It implies that the directors of the institutes were more certain of the cultural, sociological, psychological, and economic factors and forces that surround the disadvantaged child and his family and thus gave this area of knowledge more play; but they gingerly soft-pedaled the special materials and methods area, in which they were uncertain and perhaps inexperienced. And no wonder! There is so little pedagogic certitude in any formulas for teaching poor and disadvantaged pupils—in spite of Frank Riessman's *The*

Culturally Deprived Child and Harry Passow's *Education in Depressed Areas*. A more recent publication, *Teaching in the Slum School*, by Robert D. Strom, perhaps best illustrates the thin layer of research on which special practices are based. It now becomes obvious that our pedagogic reality may not be able to accommodate the heavy current consumer demands. And there is danger in posturing prescriptions and recipes in the teaching of the disadvantaged.

To meet these expressed needs, Project AWARE made two major recommendations:

1. That there be more experimentation and research in the development and testing of new strategies, techniques, and materials that have particular relevance to teaching the disadvantaged.

2. That there be more action research and evaluation with respect to experiential learnings by teachers of the disadvantaged under sensitive and creative supervision.

Both the director of an institute for teachers of the poor and disadvantaged and the teacher in the classroom are pressed to act. The director is funded to improve and upgrade teaching behavior; and the teacher must interact with the live learner (or nonlearner) himself in an effort to get him to stay in school and to achieve. More prudent and deliberate men in the same situations would be paralyzed or immobilized for there is so little time or money available for researching the promising practices in teaching the disadvantaged, and it is almost too late. In fact, there is little time to read and adapt to classroom practices what little research exists, although this may provide one of the justifications for summer institutes.

One authority, Benjamin Bloom, has summed up the research findings on the disadvantages suffered by lower-class children as compared to middle-class children, because of differences in home environment, as follows:[1]

1. Poor speech habits and language patterns in the home discourage language development and restrict the number and variety of words which the child recognizes.

2. Families have less time, opportunity, or know-how to take their children on expeditions to zoos, museums, stores, or different neighborhoods; the children also have fewer indirect experiences with the world around them through books, pictures, films, etc. Such experiences not only increase *verbal facility but also help in making distinctions, comparing objects and ideas.*

3. Children in these "disadvantaged" homes have fewer opportunities for solving problems or for thinking about a variety of issues as compared with children in more abundant environments. Their parents do not tend to encourage children to ask questions or to think things out for themselves.

4. There is less interaction generally between adults and children. Dis-

[1] Bloom, Benjamin S. *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1965, p. 77.

cipline tends to be authoritarian, and the "good" child is quiet and out of the way. This, too, limits the background of experience and language which the child brings to school.

This is not much to use as a compass in charting classroom activities. There are so few hard data currently available that one can make a case for any kind of teaching-learning style. Like others, then, I want to make a case for improving teaching behavior which I hypothesize would have a positive influence on the learning behavior of the poor and disadvantaged pupil.

In the first phase of my discussion, I shall set down twelve operational principles for school and classroom. In the second phase, I shall discuss a method by which the teacher can study the learning processes and judge the performance of the learner (achievement or product of learning). We cannot afford to have teachers waiting around for the findings of the researchers. There are pupils to be taught (and saved), and there are local and federal funds to be spent in upgrading teaching behavior with the poor and disadvantaged learner. Using the technique of the *instructional-interview* as worked out by the elementary social studies staff of Educational Services Incorporated and as refined by our own research staff[a] in a special school facility for severely emotionally disturbed adolescents at McLean Hospital, Belmont, Massachusetts, the teacher can become her own researcher in diagnosing how learning is taking place or not taking place and how much is being learned. But first some operational principles.

Some Guidelines and Hypotheses

1. We must accept the fact that the parents of the poor and disadvantaged really do want their children to come to school and actually want them to complete their schooling.

The *Newsweek* survey reported in July 1963 indicated that 97 per cent of the Negro parents wanted their children to complete high school. A more scholarly study by Paul D. Shea indicated no class differential in placing value on college education.[b] However, parents in the lower strata did not urge or force higher education on their offspring as did the pressuring middle-class parents. Realistically, the lower-status parents were aware of the handicaps and hazards placed before their offspring and either placed a low ceiling or cut the range on occupational possibilities.

2. Guidance and counseling theory currently favors middle-class mentality. For most Negro students, the counseling approach is much too

[a] Mary Henle, Margaret Donaldson, and Helen J. Kenney.

[b] Shea, Paul D. "Parental Influence in College Planning by Boys and Girls of High Ability During the Sixth to the Ninth Grade." Doctoral dissertation, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1963.

passive, verbal, intuitive, and symbolic and seldom accommodates to the realities of the Negroes' past, present, or future. It may be necessary to engage in more aggressive counseling. Most student personnel workers have failed to adapt their counseling methods to the less educated parent. They have slavishly followed counseling principles that accommodate more particularly to middle-class homes and to middle-class mentality.

Low-income parents do not see college and post-high-school education as a realistic possibility. The harsh realities of everyday life have immobilized the parent and stunted his imaginative view of what is possible for him and his children. Self-defeated, he cannot even begin to think of the possibilities as reasonable and attainable goals. More than neutrality, this parent needs elaboration, reassurance, and reinforcement.

3. We must stop projecting failure for the disadvantaged. The HARYOU studies indicate a low performance expectancy on the part of teachers which acts as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Frequently, teachers use psychological tools and tests to reinforce and justify their low predictions.

4. Currently, "the disadvantaged" are often regarded as a monolithic group. We must differentiate among the learners on meaningful criteria. These criteria would include sex, class status and aspiration level, cognitive style, and "channel capacity." I would begin by differentiating on a motivational and class-status criterion: viz., upper middle class, vertically mobile and well on their way upward; inwardly mobile, but frustrated because of inner or outer obstacles; and, last, the stable, staying, frozen, and paralyzed lower class learner.

5. We must shift from the overly slick professionalism of the pedagogue and work on the "helper" principle. Volunteer tutorial programs in the reading area in a number of inner cities suggest that many students respond as well to a helping hand as to the professional hand.

6. One or two specially trained teachers in an inner-city school will make little impression on the total school effort. Improving school practices will demand the training of a cadre of teachers that includes the principal of the inner school.

7. To maximize its thrust, the school program will need to extend downward to include two-, three-, and four-year-olds. Operation Head Start in many communities represents a move in this direction. In my observation, I have found this a hasty operation of dubious and temporary value. As a practicum opportunity, it indicated to my students more often what not to do rather than what to do.

Recognizing that Head Start falls into the category of a major governmental miracle in having started at all, many of the features of the 1965 summer program limited the value of this strategic and vital project. The "off-target" group served; but less than well-trained leadership at the classroom level; the paucity of specialized methods and materials; the preoccupation with testing and examining on pre- and post-basis; and

the short-term and truncated nature of the program—all combined to cut down the potential thrust of this national venture. Nevertheless, Head Start, by starting earlier with the disadvantaged learner, can help him to build up a bank of "poker chips" to take to school so that he can enter more fairly into the classroom game. If he comes now with any chips, they tend to be of low value. He needs to accrue some dollar chips in vocabulary and in experiences.

8. In addition to the regular or visible curriculum, there is a second, and sometimes more powerful, learning experience in what I have called the "subliminal curriculum." This is the way of life in the culture and subculture of the school that tells the student how to behave and how not to behave. Like the underpart of the iceberg, it can be a hidden but formidable determiner of learning behavior. We need to explore the significant dimensions of the culture and subculture of the school and turn these to the learner's advantage.

9. The objectives of many newly proposed programs for the disadvantaged must be scanned on a bivariant screen involving utilitarian-ideational vs. convergence-divergence as I have illustrated in *Negro Self-Concept*.[4] Many of the work-study programs aimed to help the disadvantaged actually result in lowering the ceiling on the disadvantaged by turning them out of school and entering them into terminal or dead-end jobs.

10. Teachers must be made more comfortable and less emotionally involved in teaching the poor and the disadvantaged lower class youngster. Using the "participatory experience," teachers can be helped to gain some insights concerning themselves, how they perceive others, and how others perceive them.

11. Learning can take place only when the attention of the disadvantaged pupil is attained and sustained. Much of the academic ritual and nonsense that takes place in the classroom only stirs up feelings of boredom, irrelevancy, and resentment among many in the lower socio-economic levels. Pedagogic effort must be focused on catching and holding attention at the crucial aspect in the teaching-learning encounter. Determinants of attention in materials—their color, novelty, style, and relevance—the surprise value of their content, the appropriateness of their vocabulary and learning style, and their freedom from conflict-inducing elements such as maleness and femaleness, hate and hostility toward school and teachers, and peer-group status and prestige can result in exciting the pupil in the adventure of learning or in disconnection and dropout.

12. Teaching style, as Riessman points out, will need to accommodate to the manageable response and style of the poor and disadvantaged pupil if we hope to individualize the learning-teaching process. It is here that the instructional interview must prove itself.

[4] Kvaraceus, William C., and Others. *Negro Self-Concept: Implications for School and Citizenship.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965. pp. 94–110.

The Teacher-Researcher: Using the Instructional Interview

The instructional interview enables an exploratory and intensive intellectual dialogue between the teacher and the learner. It involves the case presentation and working out of a model intellectual problem or a sample of what is being taught in the classroom. For the learner, it provides an occasion for mastery or problem solving as well as an opportunity for self-correction and self-editing; at the same time, it can provide opportunities for expression of reasoning and thought processes as well as of the learning product which is so seldom visible when pupils are required to render results and answers.

Using the instructional interview, the teacher can obtain an immediate and continuous feedback based on a close concentration on a problem that the teacher-interviewer presents. In this way, it is possible with the disadvantaged learner (as well as the favored learner) to explore how far the bright or the slow child can go in understanding and mastery. Through such task analyses, the teacher can discover the problems the young learner faces as well as how he operates in the learning process, his progress and what he produces. Such an instructional interview can provide a useful individual technique in the job of testing and discovering hypotheses about the conditions of productive instruction, since it permits better control and observation than can be achieved in classroom observation. If we hope to individualize instruction—an oft-stated and seldom applied pedagogic principle—we will need to start by debriefing, presenting, observing, analyzing, and testing the pupil as he approaches and engages in the learning process.

Very few pupils—young or old, advantaged or disadvantaged, in school or out—have the opportunity for a prolonged and serious intellectual conversation with an adult. This is especially true of the disadvantaged child. His ideas and his thinking are seldom valued or sought. At best, he is required to reproduce an answer or to dredge out a fact. The instructional interview, as it attempts to stimulate and observe the child's ideas in depth, implicitly underscores the notion that the youngster's ideas and thinking are valued. In this intellectual encounter, not only are the child's ideas and thinking processes being studied and evaluated but the adult cognitive model is presented for emulation. For the first time, young learners can see how the adult and trained mind probes, tests, and travels around the domain of ideas. In this way, the youngster may even catch onto adult behavior as responsible, thinking behavior. And in playing back the tapes, he may begin to hear himself think out loud and to compare his thinking processes with those of his teacher.

The instructional interview requires a lesson plan. It is not an open-ended, unstructured discussion. It focuses on a circumscribed topic or task in order to note how the pupil approaches learning and how far or how deep the youngster can take the idea or concept.

For example: taking a simple matrix involving the counting of five

numbers depicted in 1–5 stars, circles, and squares in three different colors, a "simple" series of questions can be worked out to note how a two- or three-year-old learns and masters these simple counting skills and number concepts. A central question within this instructional interview would require the learner to shut his eyes as a card or cards in the fifteen-card matrix is (are) shifted or turned, with follow-up questions forcing the youngster to reconstruct the essential elements. Every time the learner closes his eyes, a new frame and new problem can be presented. Universally, young children like to close their eyes to "play the game."

In conducting an instructional interview, the teacher will require time, and he will need access to a tape recorder or an observer. I would prefer that he have both. But this is no problem. The tape recorder is a familiar fixture of the modern classroom. With team teaching, teaching interns, and classroom aids, it is now possible to take time out and to train and utilize skilled observers. Funding for such innovations only awaits the presentation of the idea. The problem rests in the refinement of the theoretical conceptualization and the procedures and not in securing the equipment, time, or personnel.

The instructional interview can be a valuable research instrument. Its flexibility, the opportunity it provides for intensive study of the individual, the richness of observation it permits—all are important for the exploration of educational attainment in special programs aimed to help the disadvantaged learner.

In addition to its use as a research device, the instructional interview can be employed 1) for diagnosing the current status of the learner; 2) as an aid in constructing "lesson plans" or strategies on preparation for teaching; 3) as an actual teaching device or lesson; and 4) perhaps most importantly, for the underachieving pupil, as a device for pushing children to the limit of their understanding. The instructional interview does lack controls and built-in self-corrective devices. It is not a substitute for the controlled experiment. And it does assume that the teacher with a classroom aid or as a member of a teaching team has tape recorder and time available to employ this individualized approach to learning.

Recapitulation

Teachers of disadvantaged learners feel the strong need of special teaching strategies for dealing with the youngsters who come from deprived homes and neighborhoods. But the current status of pedagogic research and inference offers no prescription applying to the learning difficulties and academic failure of youth who come from the lower socio-economic strata of American society. Hence it is suggested that the teacher act as his own researcher to inventory the needs and to study the learning processes and products of his pupils via the instructional interview.

For a long time now, the American public schools have been able to

coast and get away with poor teaching by depending on the motivated and reinforced middle-class pupil and parent. In sharp contrast, the disadvantaged child is completely dependent upon instruction and thus is sure to show up poor teaching. In this sense, improving instruction with the disadvantaged learners can spill over and benefit the more favored sections of the learning community.

⚛ Learning Disabilities and Remediation in Disadvantaged Children

EDITH H. GROTBERG

The present review is concerned primarily with research on factors associated with learning disabilities and remediation among disadvantaged children. These factors include intelligence; school achievement; reading retardation; linguistics and language patterns; perception, conception, cognition, and vocabulary; and cumulative effects of social and cultural background.

On the basis of the foregoing, suggestions are made for the development of a theoretical system within which research on remediation is examined. Research on remediation includes programs, experiments, and some consideration of the role of the teacher. Finally, the review discusses limitations of present studies and suggests directions for future research.

Learning Disabilities

Intelligence

Research consistently reveals that disadvantaged children generally have lower IQ scores as measured by standardized intelligence tests. Deutsch and Brown (1964) conducted an important study with 543 urban public school children stratified by race, grade level, and social class. The Level I Primary Battery of the *Lorge-Thorndike Intelligence Test* was used for the first-grade classes, and Level III was used for the fifth-grade classes. Both forms are essentially nonverbal. The authors found no significant differences in IQ scores between first-grade and fifth-grade children. Highly significant differences were found, however, both between scores of Negro and white children and between class levels. Further, IQ differences continued between races in different class levels, with the differences increasing as the class level became higher.

The racial aspect of intelligence continues to raise the nature-nurture controversy. Shuey (1958) referred to 72 studies in which a total of 36,000 Negro children were tested, and the average IQ was determined to be 85, strongly suggesting to her a genetic difference. Klineberg (1963), on the other hand, interpreted the studies to suggest environmental determinants

of IQ variations. Anastasi (1958) pointed out that referring to mean differences between races is misleading. She indicated that if 30 per cent of the Negroes reach or exceed the white median, the percentage who reach or exceed the lowest score of the white group will be approximately 99. Edmonds (1962) similarly warned against using median scores to compare racial groups. Distribution scores are more meaningful, according to these authors, and reveal fewer differences between races than appear when comparing mean or median scores. They emphasized the point that differences within the races far exceed differences between the races.

While current research tends to stress the environmental determinants of differences between races, there is evidence of new approaches to person-environment interaction, discussed below in the section on formulations of a theoretical framework, which may provide a new frame of reference more consistent with the reality of human behavior and more productive of research on learning disabilities and remediation among disadvantaged children.

Following the environmental emphasis of Klineberg, however, evidence is provided to support the contention that IQ scores can be changed by changes in environment such as migration, acculturation, and special educational programs. Thus, Lee (1951) reported that the IQ scores of Negro children migrating from the South to Philadelphia improved steadily and significantly with length of residence in the Northern metropolis. Klineberg (1963) reported similar continuous gains in IQ scores of Southern Negro children who moved to New York City. These gains were due, presumably, to acculturation. Brazziel and Terrell (1962) reported an experiment with 26 Negro first-grade children in Tennessee, where scores on IQ tests and on the *Metropolitan Readiness Test* rose to national averages as a result of involving parents and children in a six-week enrichment program including (a) readiness materials, (b) intensified activities to develop perception, vocabulary, word reasoning, and ability and will to follow directions, plus (c) conferences and regular meetings with the parents. In contrast, scores for the control groups remained significantly below those for the experimental group on the *Metropolitan Readiness Test.* While control group IQ tests were not included for comparison, the authors stated that the mean IQ score of the experimental group (106.5) was 16 *points above the general expectations for disadvantaged children.* Although the results of the overall program are impressive, the authors did not isolate or control variables sufficiently to determine what in the program caused the shift in test performances. Deutsch (1964a) reported similar increases in IQ scores among preschool children as a result of the preschool nursery programs which he initiated in New York.

Questions about the validity of intelligence tests continue to be raised. Tests specially designed to be culture free or culture fair in order to measure more accurately the intelligence of disadvantaged children have not produced anticipated results. *Disadvantaged children do no better on the special*

tests than they do on the more conventional intelligence tests (Stablein, Willey, and Thompson, 1961). Edwards (1965) suggested that intelligence tests measure achieved functional capacity and have value accordingly. Deutsch and others (1964) provided suggestions for testing minority group children, emphasizing the value of nationally standardized tests to highlight differences in performance and to provide the pertinent information on educational deficiencies in minority groups.

School Achievement

There are disadvantaged groups other than racial groups which have learning disabilities as determined by lack of adequate school achievement. These groups include school dropouts, children of migrant workers, and to some extent rural children.

Dreger and Miller (1960), in a comprehensive report comparing school achievement levels of Negro and white children in the United States, reported generally lower achievement among Negroes. School dropouts, a group not limited by race, consistently demonstrate poor school achievement. Williams (1963), reporting on Maryland dropouts, stated that 56.5 per cent of the dropouts had not achieved according to their abilities. This figure applied to those of average or above average ability as well as those with below average ability. In terms of course failure, 47.5 per cent were failing three or more subjects during the semester they left school. The U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service (1962) reported an association between school achievement and graduation from high school. In the bottom quartile of academic achievement 20.1 per cent dropped out of school as compared to 5.3 per cent of the top quartile. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (1962) reported that more than half of the children of migrant workers are retarded educationally from one to four years. Among rural dropouts in Louisiana, Bertrand (1962) found a significant difference in academic achievement between the dropouts and the youths in school, even though there was no significant difference in intelligence. He suggested that a number of factors contributed to the dropout problem of rural youth: traveling distances, reduced participation in school activities, lower school achievement, lower expectations from the teachers, and the low socio-economic standing of parents.

Folkman (1962), in examining the progress of 2,200 rural and urban students entering Iowa State University in the fall of 1955, found that while rural students rated slightly above their urban classmates on their high school grade point average and on their percentile rank in the high school graduating class, they fell considerably below the urban students on the college entrance examinations. The major reason for these lower scores appeared to be deficiencies, particularly in mathematics.

Reading and Related Factors

Reading Retardation

While reading retardation is related to school failure, reading retardation needs closer examination, since it provides an avenue for determining more specifically the patterns of experience and learning which are characteristic of reading retardation and related school failure. The path is one of locating and studying predecessors to reading retardation. Reading retardation is a conspicuous variable and one which school systems use consistently for educational planning, for evaluation of school curricula and teaching, and for predicting future success or failure of students. In studying a large Midwestern metropolis, Sexton (1961) found that mean achievement scores favored the higher income groups increasingly from grade to grade, and that the lowest scores of the lower income children consistently occurred in the reading portions of the tests. Arithmetic and work skills tended to be higher, suggesting that lower class children are especially disadvantaged verbally. Barton (1963) found a consistent relationship between socioeconomic level and progress in reading. In a number of studies of reading retardation among selected groups, retardation was found to be most pronounced among school dropouts (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1960), children of migrant workers (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1962), and children from the lower classes in general (Deutsch, 1964b).

Linguistics and Language Patterns

Research pursued in the area of linguistics and language patterns reflects an assumed conflict between the language structure and patterns which disadvantaged children acquire early in their development and the subsequent different language structure and patterns of the schools.

Bernstein (1960) provided basic information concerning social class and linguistic behavior. Studying English families, he found two distinct types of language significantly related to class membership. The lower class used a restricted form and the middle class used an elaborated form. The elaborated form was more consistent with school and textbook language. Bernstein (1959) determined in his studies that lower class speech in English families is not only different from middle and upper class speech but is deficient for educational purposes.

An important study of American children was conducted by Loban (1964). Using a stratified sample of 338 children in the kindergarten through the sixth grade from the Oakland, California, public schools, he attempted to describe accurately the use and control of language, the effectiveness in communication, and the relationships among the subjects' oral, written, and reading uses of language. The findings revealed that

except for linking-verb patterns and the use of partial expressions or incomplete sentences, the differences in structural patterns tended to be small between the low and high socioeconomic groups. Very important differences, however, did appear in the dexterity with which subjects used elements within the structured patterns: the high socioeconomic group used more clauses, infinitives, and verbals than did the low socioeconomic group. Reading, writing, listening, and oral language showed a positive interrelationship and also a positive relationship with socioeconomic group. Templin (1958) reported a similar relationship between sentence length and complexity of sentence structure with socioeconomic level.

Frazier (1964), as a result of extensive research, suggested three kinds of underdeveloped language found among disadvantaged children with learning disabilities: (a) true verbal destitution, that is, there is actually less language; (b) full but nonstandard language development, that is, the language is highly developed but deviates sufficiently from standard English to require further language development; and (c) unconceptualized experience and underdeveloped language, that is, the language is well developed, but in certain aspects of experience valued by the school there may have been no occasion to verbalize meanings. These findings suggest that there might well be different kinds of language development among disadvantaged children.

Newton (1964), interpreting the data from structural linguistics, submitted the following premises as important in attempts to aid language development of disadvantaged children: (a) Oral language is the kingpin of the communicative arts. (b) Written language is a conventionalized, coded representation of vocal language. (c) Language development and use have a universal sequence, that is, listening, speaking, reading then writing. (d) Vocabularies for listening, speaking, reading, and writing vary markedly. (e) Structural arrangements are learned unconsciously in infancy and early childhood through auditory perception and vocal imitation.

Since deficiencies in language skills and language development appear to be characteristic of disadvantaged children with learning disabilities, the reviewer has included an examination of the research pertaining to more basic factors in language development in an attempt to determine their relationship to learning disabilities among disadvantaged children.

Perception, Conception, Cognition, and Vocabulary

Deutsch (1963) found through experimentation that disadvantaged children have inferior auditory discrimination, visual discrimination, time concepts, and number concepts. He found no physical defects of eyes, ears, or brain. The deficiencies were attributed to inferior habits of hearing, seeing, and thinking. He postulated that these children were deprived of sufficient variety of stimuli to which they were maturationally capable of responding and were therefore less prepared for school learning. Christine

and Christine (1964) indicated the relationship of auditory discrimination to articulatory defects and reading retardation. Bruner (1961) reported, as a result of his studies of cognitive consequences of sensory deprivation, that children so deprived are handicapped not only in constructing models of the environment but also in developing strategies for evaluating information. Russell (1954) suggested from his studies that concept and language development—that is, "meaning-ideas" and "word-ideas"—develop simultaneously and pointed out the consequent importance of teaching disadvantaged children concepts and language at the same time.

Figurel (1964), examining vocabulary differences between disadvantaged children and the middle class population, reported that in second grade the vocabulary of disadvantaged children was approximately one third that of middle class children and that in sixth grade the vocabulary was approximately one half. He stated further that second-grade children in slum areas knew fewer than half of the words in the vocabulary of middle class preschool children. Specifically, words such as *sink, chimney, honey, beef,* and *sandwich* were learned one or two years later by disadvantaged children. He pointed out, however, that some disadvantaged children did have rather large vocabularies but that these were not appropriate or adequate for school. His findings support Frazier's findings described above.

Cumulative Effects of Social and Cultural Background

As a result of the recent attention focused on social and economic ber of a lower class was a greater determinant of low achievement and low IQ scores than was race, but that race increasingly became a determinant as the class level went up. Froe (1964), looking at social and cultural background and race factors, found that Negro entering college freshmen tested below white entering college freshmen in all aptitude and achievement tests, even after the college selection process had operated. He concluded that the selection hypothesis needs reexamination and that the subculture from which Negro children come leaves them with many learning disadvantages which they take to college. Newton (1960) described the language deficiencies of Negro entering college freshmen as including limited vocabularies, deficient use of descriptive or qualifying words, and inability to comprehend figurative language. The evidence for continued decline in aptitude and achievement test scores of *disadvantaged children over the years, regardless of race, is consistent in research* (Masland, Sarason, and Gladwin, 1958).

Career choices of rural youth were examined by Burchinal (1962). Not only are rural youth less well prepared for college than are urban youth, but he found fewer rural youth with college plans. He concluded that educational aspirations of farm children, regardless of sex, intellectual ability, or family status, usually were lower than those of comparable children from rural nonfarm or urban homes. The U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, and U.S. Department of Agriculture,

Economic Research Service (1962) reported that in 1960 about one third of all rural high school graduates were enrolled in college as compared with almost half the urban graduates. These differences persisted when rural and urban youth were equated according to IQ and status levels of their families.

Factors associated with learning disabilities of disadvantaged children are identifiable, but they operate neither independently nor with a clearly predictable pattern. As has been indicated thus far, race is not sufficient to determine learning disabilities, since farm youth and migrant children indicate similar disabilities. Class is not sufficient to predict learning disabilities, since dropouts come from all classes and consistently reveal learning disabilities as measured by poor school achievement. In order to understand these research findings, it seems necessary to formulate a theoretical framework within which findings become more meaningful and also to provide guidelines for future research on learning disabilities and remediation among disadvantaged children.

Formulations of a Theoretical Framework

The problems of understanding learning disabilities among disadvantaged children and of providing for remediation require a theoretical framework that permits an examination of the social context, an examination of the individual in that context, and an examination of the developmental level of the individual at any given time. Gordon (1964) and Deutsch and Brown (1964) have provided the beginnings of such a theoretical framework.

Gordon provided an interactionist or reflective position to describe learning disabilities among disadvantaged children. This position holds that all organized patterned behaviors are reflections of interaction between the organism and its environment: learning disabilities of disadvantaged children result from continuous interactions between the person and his environment that produce unproductive and inappropriate behavioral patterns or responses. Diagnosis and remediation of these responses and patterns are considered necessary in order to bring about more appropriate and productive behavior. Deutsch and Brown (1964), following a similar interactionist position, suggested making analyses of social environmental factors, of social class components, and of the interaction of the two. Further, they suggested the analysis of the various developmental dimensions but were not so clear in describing these factors as they were in describing the social environmental factors. Hunt (1961) focused more directly and clearly on the developmental dimensions and emphasized the hierarchical and sequential arrangement and development of intellectual capacities. He stressed further the importance of determining where the learner is in the developmental configuration as he interacts with the environment. Chilman (1965) pursued the dimensions of development still further by suggesting the concept of maturity as it relates to development, and posed the question of whether

learning disabilities of disadvantaged children are more the result of developmental immaturity than of discrete differences in development. She cited the fact that disadvantaged children, for example, have a pragmatic, concrete, personal, and physical learning style, that is, the style of the immature person. Jordan (1964) described in great detail the developmental basis for learning disabilities.

The preceding discussion reflects the beginnings of a theoretical framework. The formulations need further examination and development, but they promise to provide opportunity for more realistic and significant research consistent with the best knowledge already available about human behavior.

Programs for Remediation

Programs with a Limited Research Base

While numerous programs of remediation of learning disabilities are in progress (Jewett, Mersand, and Gunderson, 1964; U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1963; Passow, 1963; Stauffer, 1965), most are limited in their research aspects. Where research designs are reported, final analyses of data are too often missing. The urgency to provide progress reports of programs is understandable, but the lack of research results is disappointing. The next few years, however, should witness the completion of data analyses of many programs currently in progress.

Research studies with anything more than a broad description of the characteristics of disadvantaged children as the basis for research on learning disabilities are disappointingly few. Personal experiences on the one hand provide many beliefs about disadvantaged children (Riessman, 1963); sentimental notions about disadvantaged children on the other hand obscure facts and lead persons to emphasize that there are only cultural differences between groups, thereby denying the concept of *disadvantaged* (Smiley, 1964). These approaches rely on a few isolated cases to demonstrate the equality, uniqueness, or even superiority of learning in disadvantaged children. While they dramatically draw much needed attention to the disadvantaged, they obscure the realities of the tremendous problems of learning disabilities and remediation among disadvantaged children.

Research-Based Programs

Three kinds of programs are selected to illustrate research-based programs which have demonstrated some success in remedying learning disabilities among disadvantaged children: guidance programs, programs using special materials, and programs using available remedial and developmental materials under the direction of effective teachers.

Brazziel and Terrell (1962) used a guidance approach in a readiness program for Negro first graders with the results that IQ scores and readiness scores approached a normal curve distribution. Schreiber (1960) reported significant gains in reading scores, arithmetic scores, school attendance, and IQ scores as a result of a total school program emphasizing guidance. This Higher Horizons program started at the junior high school level and continued through senior high school. Scully (1964) gave a more detailed account of the guidance aspect of the pilot study which led to the Higher Horizons program.

Programs of remediation using specially designed materials are reported by Woolman (1964), who introduced special programed techniques and materials in the Accelerated Progressive Choice Reading Program. According to Woolman, the APCR Program is designed to permit each student to progress at his own rate of speed, uses materials which are directed to the interests and values of the population, and provides a detailed step-by-step procedure. The program is adaptable to any setting and a minimum of teacher participation is possible because the program is based primarily on special materials. An average gain of 1.28 years was reported among disadvantaged youth in Washington Action for Youth groups after only 40 hours of instruction. Whipple (1964) has designed special multicultural primers for disadvantaged children in Detroit and reports significant gains in reading as a result of their use.

The largest number of programs are those based on the use of available remedial and developmental materials by effective teachers. These include clinical organization, reported by Cohn (1965): consultant help from remedial and developmental specialists for the classroom teacher, reported by Johnson and Kress (1965); and experiments with selected students, reported by Grotberg (1965). Grotberg found that after 30 hours of instruction 35 disadvantaged ninth-grade boys ranging in age from 14 to 17 raised their reading scores by an average of 1.5 years when effective teachers drawing on available materials used an intensive remedial and developmental approach.

Role of the Teacher

The most disappointing gap in research is in the area of the role of the teacher in remediation of learning disabilities among disadvantaged children. The literature is replete with discussions of what a teacher should be and do, but very few of the suggestions or conclusions are supported by research evidence. One notable exception is the research conducted by Gottlieb (1964). He examined the important factors in teacher-student relationships and concluded that the student must see that his goals are the same as those of his teacher and that the teacher has both the ability and the desire to help him attain his goals. These factors were obtained by factor analysis. Gottlieb further found that Negro high school students see a

significantly greater discrepancy between their goals and those they believe are held by the teacher, and that socioeconomically lower youth, especially Negro youth, are least likely to perceive the teacher as wanting to help them reach their goals. All of these findings were statistically significant.

Burchinal (1962) indicated the *importance of the role of the teacher* when he reported that rural youth cite school-related persons as second only to their parents in influencing their occupational choices. Negative attitudes of teachers toward disadvantaged children have been studied by Davidson and Lang (1960), Groff (1963), and Rich (1960), but to date no research has appeared to measure effects of changed attitudes of teachers on remediation of learning disabilities.

Clearly, the teacher plays an important role in *the life of students,* but what it is and how it contributes to remediation of learning disabilities among disadvantaged children is not clear. Research in this area is greatly needed.

Summary and Conclusions

Research on learning disabilities and remediation among disadvantaged children is concerned mainly with factors associated with learning disabilities and remediation. A path may be made leading from intelligence variations to the racial and social factors affecting learning and then to school achievement. There one may follow the research to reading retardation, and further on to factors of perception, conception, cognition, and vocabulary as they affect language development and learning. The cumulative effects of social and cultural background provide further information about learning disabilities of disadvantaged children. Examining the research on these factors, one is led inevitably to the conclusions that a new theoretical framework is necessary to provide guidelines for further research and to permit more accurate interpretation of present research. The formulation of *such a theoretical framework is suggested.*

Many reports on remediation programs are incomplete and limited in research data. The tendencies to be excited, committed, and deeply involved in the problems of disadvantaged children often obscure the need to provide research evidence for others who wish to build on past research. Research begets research. Much wasted time, effort, and money have been invested in activities which have had little value, if any, to those outside of a given project, primarily because little attempt was made to maintain high quality in research designs, controls, and analyses. The research reviewed here was selected because of its appropriate research design and methodology or because it contributes to clarification of assumptions, postulates, and theoretical concepts.

Research on *the role of the teacher in remediation of learning dis-* abilities among disadvantaged children is meager, a fact not inconsistent with research on teachers as a professional group. It is still not clear what

qualities or combinations of qualities are best in a teacher and what methods or techniques promise best results in learning. A little research has been done—much more is needed.

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❉ Characteristics of the Culturally Disadvantaged Child

MILLARD H. BLACK

Who is the educationally or culturally disadvantaged child? What are his characteristics? What are some of the factors of his environment which affect his educational achievement? These questions, together with a determination of procedures which will compensate for or ameliorate his disadvantage, are areas of great and grave concern, not only in Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, and other great cities, but in many other areas which are in economic and social transition.

Who is the *educationally or culturally disadvantaged child?* The answer varies from state to state, from city to city. He lives not only in the central area of our great cities. One southern governor in January 1964 declared that 20 per cent of the citizens of his state can neither read nor write, that 50 per cent of the state's young people fail to complete high school. The disadvantaged child is of no single race or color: poverty, delinquency, failure to achieve the goals established by the main stream of society are shared by peoples of all colors and national origins.

The disadvantaged individual may derive from a culture which is rich in its own tradition, but which no longer prepares its members for successful participation in society. The change in economic patterns apparent over the past half-century was intensified by World War II. People from submarginal farms have been forced into cities, while in the cities jobs for the unskilled are decreasing. Thousands have learned that their older ways of life no longer are effective.

What are the *characteristics of the culturally disadvantaged child?* He is no stranger to failure and to the fear that continued failure engenders. He knows the fear of being overpowered by teachers who are ignorant of the culture and mores of his society, and who may not expect success of him. He fears lack of recognition and understanding from teachers whose backgrounds are totally dissimilar and who either misinterpret or fail to recognize many of his efforts to achieve and to accommodate himself to demands which are basically alien.

Riessman (8) describes these characteristics of the deprived individual: (1) is relatively slow at cognitive tasks, but not stupid; (2) appears to learn

most readily through a physical, concrete approach (often is slow, but may be persistent when the content is meaningful and valued); (3) often appears to be anti-intellectual, pragmatic rather than theoretical; (4) is traditional, superstitious, and somewhat religious in a traditional sense; (5) is from a male-centered culture, except for a major section of the Negro subculture; (6) is inflexible and not open to reason about many of his beliefs (morality, diet, family polarity, and educational practice are examples of these beliefs); (7) feels alienated from the larger social structure, with resultant frustration; (8) holds others to blame for his misfortunes; (9) values masculinity and attendant action, viewing intellectual activities as unmasculine; (10) appreciates knowledge for its practical, vocational ends, but rarely values it for its own sake; (11) desires a better standard of living, with personal comforts for himself and his family, but does not wish to adopt a middle-class way of life; (12) is deficient in auditory attention and interpretation skills; (13) reads ineffectively and is deficient in the communication skills generally, has wide areas of ignorance, and often is suggestible, although he may be suspicious of innovations. Other delimiting characteristics reported by Riessman have been included among the factors discussed in later paragraphs.

In assessing some of the strengths of this group of children, Riessman describes them as: (1) being relatively free of the strains which accompany competitiveness and the need to establish oneself as an individual; (2) having the cooperativeness and mutual aid which marks an extended family; (3) being free of self-blame; (4) enjoying other members of the family and not competing with them; (5) having the security deriving from an extended family and a traditional outlook; (6) enjoying games, music, sports, and cars.

The following factors, reflecting the conclusions of many persons who have studied the causes and results of cultural disadvantage, are believed by Dr. Newton S. Metfessel (6) to be operative in the lives of children from disadvantaged homes.* The grouping of these factors and the remarks relative to them are the work of this writer.

Language factors. One such grouping may be termed language factors:

1. Culturally disadvantaged children understand more language than they use. This comparison between understanding and usage does not imply a wide bearing or understanding vocabulary. Figurel (5) reports that at grade two the vocabulary of such children is approximately one-third that of normal children, while at grade six it is about one-half.

2. Culturally disadvantaged children frequently use a great many words with fair precision, but not those words representative of the school culture. Figurel states that "less than half of the words in the vocabulary of preschool children are known by second-grade children in slum areas." He also

* Reported with the permission of Dr. Metfessel, Director of the Center for the Study of the Education of Disadvantaged Youth at the University of Southern California.

states that "common name words, such as sink, chimney, honey, beef, and sandwich are learned by culturally disadvantaged children one or two years later than by other children."

3. Culturally disadvantaged children frequently are crippled in language development because they do not perceive the concept that objects have names, and that the same objects may have different names. The impoverished economic conditions under which these pupils are reared, with a scarcity of objects of all types, and the absence of discussion which characterizes communication in the substandard home prejudice against the development of labels and of the concept of a specific name (or names) for everything.

4. Culturally disadvantaged kindergarten children use fewer words with less variety to express themselves than do kindergarten children of socio-economic classes. The use of language by the child chiefly to express his concrete needs, and by parents and other adults to command the child to perform some function, may contribute to the severe limitation of self-expression.

5. Culturally disadvantaged children use a significantly smaller proportion of mature sentence structures, such as compound, complex, and more elaborate constructions. This is not limited to the non-English speaking child, but occurs among most children who come from culturally disadvantaged areas.

6. Culturally disadvantaged children learn less from what they hear than do middle-class children. The importance of teaching all children the skills of listening has often been pointed out. This appears to be particularly true for disadvantaged children, who come from a milieu in which the radio, television, and the sounds made by many people living in crowded quarters provide a background of noise from which the individual must retreat.

Learning patterns. The next grouping of the factors assembled by Metfessel have to do with learning patterns:

1. Culturally disadvantaged children tend to learn more readily by inductive than by deductive approaches. It appears reasonable to assume that low self-esteem, induced by long economic deprivation, discrimination, or both, may cause pupils to distrust their own judgment or conclusions; they need the support of an authoritarian figure in the classroom. The difficulties in using a discovery technique in teaching disadvantaged pupils are obvious.

2. Culturally disadvantaged children generally are unaccustomed to "insight building" by external use of lectures and discussions at home. In homes where families are preoccupied with supplying the elemental needs, there may be little opportunity to help children learn the techniques of discussion or to move from observation to conclusions. Deutsch (3) reports that "the lower class home is not verbally oriented," and the result is a diminution of the child's general level of responsiveness.

3. Culturally disadvantaged children are frequently symbolically de-

prized; for example, imaginary playmates are much less acceptable to the parents of culturally disadvantaged children when compared to their middle-class counterparts. The average middle-class parent appears to accept the imaginations of his children, whether or not he understands their educational and psychological import. On the other hand, parents from less affluent circumstances tend to look upon such imagining, even in very young children, as "lying" and to punish when it is observed.

4. Culturally disadvantaged children need to see concrete application of what is learned to immediate sensory and topical satisfaction. This is of particular importance in a school culture in which primary emphasis is placed on long-term goals, which can be met only by foregoing immediate satisfactions. The importance of a series of well defined instructional tasks and attendant goals, continued verbalization, and frequent evaluation of progress is implied by this factor.

5. Culturally disadvantaged children tend to have poor attention span and consequently experience difficulty in following the orders of a teacher. Several authorities have reported the great amount of time children spend listening in the classroom. Research shows that pupils "tune in and out" on the teacher, supplying from context and from their own experience much that they miss during these brief periods of inattention. The lack of connected discourse and generally inadequate communication processes in the disadvantaged home foster the inability of children to attend. This environmental deficiency is reinforced by differences in the vocabulary and syntax used in the classroom and in the home. The pupil whose cultural background is the same as that of the teacher is in a position to supply through context much that he may have missed during intermittent periods of inattention. The sparseness of furnishings in the homes of the very poor, the general drab visual quality of the environment, tend to deny the pupil needed exercise in organization, perception, and reorganization of the objects in the environment.

Readiness for instruction. Four additional factors included by Metfessel are related to this concept:

1. The culturally disadvantaged child often is characterized by significant gaps in knowledge and learning. Entering school from a background which has not adequately prepared him for success in a traditional curriculum, the pupil participates in communication procedures and patterns alien to him. These disadvantages are multiplied by frequent changes of residence and school, particularly in the lower grades.

2. Culturally disadvantaged children generally have had little experience of receiving approval for success in a task. Born into a community in which relatively few adults have been successful in school, the disadvantaged child hardly can be expected to be self-motivated in his work in the classroom. The teacher's commonest motivation—"You read that well, John," or "Mary, that was a good report"—fails with this pupil because he has rarely

experienced praise in his home. Lack of responsibility in the home is not to be inferred. Child care and housekeeping tasks are assumed regularly and successfully by many of these children who are not yet in their teens.

3. Culturally disadvantaged children are characterized by narrow experience outside the home. Children's participation in activities which are assumed by almost every teacher may be nonexistent among lowest-income groups. Without background to promote understanding, how much will the pupil gain from studying about these activities?

4. Culturally deprived children have very little concept of relative size. Limited in the communication skills, deprived of many experiences which help to build concepts of things to which he must react in the classroom, comprehension of much about which he studies will be severely limited.

School behavior. Three factors are directly related to behavior in school:

1. Culturally deprived children generally are unaware of the "ground rules" for success in school. The ignorance of *how* to be successful does not imply unawareness of the values of education. Although their reasons may differ from those given by persons in other social groups, many adults and adolescents among low income groups express their need for education.

2. Culturally disadvantaged children frequently end the reading habit before it is begun. Metfessel continues, saying that "the cycle of skill mastery which demands that successful experiences generate more motivation to read which in turn generates levels of skill sufficient to prevent discouragement, and so on, may be easily reversed in direction and end the reading habit prior to its beginning." Books, magazines, and newspapers are more easily dispensable than food and clothing; among very low income groups they do not represent necessities.

3. Culturally disadvantaged children are placed at a marked disadvantage in timed test situations. Efforts to apply objective measures to almost every phase of school interest and activity have doubtful value for the children from a very low income home. Accurate determination of his potential and his achievement must be obtained through some technique which does not penalize him with rigidly defined time limitations.

4. Culturally disadvantaged children need assistance in perceiving an adult as a person of whom you ask questions and receive answers. The growing tendency of teachers to act as *directors* of classroom activity and to perceive themselves as resource persons implies an area in which culturally disadvantaged children will need specific help. They must be helped to accommodate themselves to an adult role which is unfamiliar to them.

What are the characteristics of a disadvantaged area? We can round out the description of our culturally disadvantaged children by citing some characteristics of a large area in Los Angeles County, which appear to be similar to the characteristics of other very low income areas. Agencies which are seeking to ameliorate cultural disadvantage state that in this area: (1)

the percentage of broken homes is almost three times that of the total county; (2) family income is 25 per cent below the county median; (3) population density is approximately double that of the entire county; (4) housing is substandard, and *continues to decline* in quality; (5) the school dropout rate is 2.2 times as large as the average of the city; and (6) youth delinquency rates are higher in almost all offense categories than for the county generally.

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✿ Teaching Decision-Making to the Disadvantaged

CATHERINE CAVANAGH AND DOROTHY Z. PRICE

This study has attempted to develop a theoretical rationale for the methods by which information may be communicated to disadvantaged groups as a basis for finding effective means for teaching abstract ideas such as the decision-making process.

As a Result of the recent attention focused on social and economic problems related to poverty, efforts to improve services to the disadvantaged have increased. From these efforts has come a large amount of literature describing characteristics of the disadvantaged and methods of reaching and working with them. However, there are large gaps in research-based knowledge. Furthermore, many of the methods which have been employed to communicate with the disadvantaged have evolved more or less haphazardly without being based on an intergration of what is known about the disadvantaged and the subject to be communicated. In this study, such an integration was the basis for formulation hypotheses relevant to communicating with disadvantaged families.

Because more effort has been expended to teach physical homemaking skills rather than abstract ideas to the disadvantaged, the concern of this study was the communication of an abstract idea. The problem was limited to formulation of hypotheses relevant to communicating the importance of financial decision-making to young disadvantaged families. Disadvantaged families were defined as those who are poor or near poor according to the Social Security Administration Poverty Index. (The economy level of the Index is developed by family size and farm-nonfarm residence and centers around $3100 for a four-person household.) In addition, the adults possess a high school education or less and are not members of community organizations. Families in the establishment phase of the family life cycle whose heads were between 14 and 24 years of age were considered young families. It was assumed that anyone can grasp the concept of the importance of decision-making if it is presented in a manner meaningful to him.

Review of Literature

Methods which have been employed to communicate with the disadvantaged were reviewed. In addition, literature concerning both the unique characteristics of the disadvantaged young families and the importance of decision-making was surveyed in detail. Information obtained from an analysis of the relevant literature was integrated as a basis for formulation of hypotheses. Criteria employed by Schneider (1) were adopted in order to identify possible points of integration. These criteria include: congruity or lack of it, reinforcement or lack of it, connections, and interdependence.

Young Disadvantaged Families and Decision-Making

The distrust exhibited toward outsiders by many of the disadvantaged (2) implies that before any method of service may be initiated, rapport and trust must be established, probably through home visits, capitalizing on the preference of the disadvantaged for informal relationships (3). Although an informal setting and relationships are conducive to helping the disadvantaged, the situation should also be structured in order to clarify to the person being helped what is expected of him in the learning experience (4). Building on desire for fun and excitement appears to be an approach which suits an informal situation and which parallels the disadvantaged person's interest in breaking the monotony of daily living. A communication method built on this motive would avoid the negative connotations which the disadvantaged often associate with formal education methods (5).

Voluntary group membership is not common among the disadvantaged (6). It is unlikely that members of disadvantaged families would attend group meetings without encouragement; therefore, methods of communicating which do not require groups might be more effective, at least in the beginning.

That disadvantaged young couples, like their parents (7), tend to have a limited time perspective is evidenced in their lack of planning for marriage (8). Due to this limited time perspective, methods of communicating with the disadvantaged need to build on short-term experiences which could be gradually extended to experiences of longer duration. It has been found that the one-time help session is ineffective (9); consequently, a series of short-term experiences related to a subject would probably better communicate the desired concepts.

Besner has noted that the wife plays the major managerial role in disadvantaged families, in addition to having a high degree of power in financial decision-making (10). Therefore, methods of communicating information about these subjects should be directed toward her rather than the married pair. Presumably, young wives would be receptive to such aid,

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since their developmental tasks relative to family financial management are closely tied to making decisions about spending the income (11). Also, it has been found that a major problem of teenage marriages, which frequently occur at this socioeconomic level (12), is financial difficulty (13). Early assistance with this developmental task may help young families to avert later problems—problems which accumulate or develop because of earlier decisions.

Despite the indication that disadvantaged young wives could benefit from knowledge of financial decision-making, it seems unlikely that they would ask for aid with this subject. With their orientation to obtaining practical, easy solutions to everyday problems and with their lack of interest in theory and abstractions (14), they would be more likely to request help with a specific problem such as how to buy food.

To stimulate interest in financial decision-making, knowledge of the importance of decision-making is needed; but such knowledge is often either assumed or ignored. Two concepts, the power (15) and transferability (16) of decision-making, appear to relate the importance of decision-making to the life style of the disadvantaged. Emphasis on the practical is congruent with the applicability (transferability) of decision-making to any financial problem—in fact, to any problem. Because the disadvantaged are typically problem-centered (17), it would be essential to communicate the importance of decision-making in the context of financial problems which the homemaker is actually facing. Conscious judgment and selection of alternatives in a financial problem situation provide a degree of power and control over the income; at least some undesirable consequences may be avoided. If the disadvantaged were to experience the power of decision-making through some communication device, perhaps their feeling of powerlessness (18) to affect the future would diminish. Although decision-making implies an orientation to the future, perhaps the feeling of power acquired from making decisions in short-term situations would lead to a longer time perspective. By building on the desire for new goods (19), it could be emphasized that by making conscious decisions, families could get more of what they want.

A major barrier to communicating the importance of decision-making to the disadvantaged is that the abstract ideas surrounding a problem are considered impractical; to the disadvantaged, it is the end result of action that counts (20). The importance of decision-making is clearly an abstract concept which appears to be incongruent with their physically oriented life style and lack of interest in introspection. Yet the concept is not as incongruous as it first seems to be. It has been noted by Riessman (21) that the problem-solving style of the disadvantaged involves physical action. He also suggests that introspection and abstraction can be kindled in the disadvantaged if preceded by external stimuli. Apparently an effective method of communicating the importance of financial decision-making should involve

physical experience which leads to introspection and identification of the reasons for its importance.

To parallel the one-track mode of thinking of the disadvantaged (22) and to avoid confusion, communication methods should be simple. The physically oriented, nonverbal language of the disadvantaged implies that communication methods directed toward them would be most effective if they included both verbal and nonverbal forms (that is, pictures, diagrams, etc.) of communication. The message would be more understandable to the disadvantaged if the sentence structure and vocabulary were similar to theirs; for example, Bernstein (23) describes a language form which he asserts is characteristic of the lower classes. A more physically oriented word than "decision," such as "pick" or "choose," might be more readily accepted by the disadvantaged.

It may be concluded that methods for communication of the importance of financial decision-making to the young disadvantaged homemaker must provide the individual with an opportunity to experience and/or view graphically the power and trasferability of financial decision-making. To be effective, the method should possess all or most of the following characteristics: (1) *applicability in an informal situation*, (2) no requirement of group activity, (3) short term, (4) physical involvement of the learner, (5) explicit structure, (6) nonverbal elements, and (7) vocabulary and language structure which the disadvantaged can understand. That rapport is established prior to use of the methods is assumed.

Models for Examining Methods

Alternative models—psychoanalytic and adult socialization—for viewing programs for the disadvantaged were examined and tested by McBroom (24) with AFDC mothers. The psychoanalytically based techniques referred to in her study emphasize psychological functioning; they are passive and permissive in character. On the other hand, techniques based on adult socialization theory focus on change in social roles and functioning in a group; they involve active teaching and invite participation.

McBroom's results indicated that, although neither model proved more helpful than the other, the kinds of acts classified as "socializing" were found to be almost invariably helpful in the opinion of families receiving aid. These acts were directed toward teaching the family to anticipate, meet expectations, and function in various relationships.

Of the two models, the adult socialization model seems more congruent with the style of the disadvantaged. Alone, the emphasis of the psychoanalytic model on introspection and its lack of structure are incongruent with the characteristics of the disadvantaged. The orientation of the adult socialization model, however, is toward change in roles through combining active manipulation of the environment with rewards. Attention is focused on external action as impetus to internal changes in people. This

framework corresponds to the physical, manipulative style of the disadvantaged, as well as to their need for support of even small achievements.

Because the focus of change is on role behavior in the family and the social network, the adult socialization theory may be applied to change in behavior in the managerial role of the homemaker and its influence on the social forces which affect her. Since decision-making is the key concept in financial management (25), the homemaker's recognition of the importance of financial decision-making should lead her to make more conscious decisions and thus change her role as financial manager.

In methods utilizing the adult socialization framework, the worker is an active teacher, serves as a model, and invites participation. To be effective with the disadvantaged, such a role would need to be built on a well-established rapport, trust, and an informal relationship—all of which have been identified as important in working with disadvantaged families. Explicit communication which makes clear the mutual expectations and responsibilities of both the worker and the client is harmonious with the desire of the disadvantaged for structured learning experiences.

Consistent with the adult socialization model are "go-do" expeditions, demonstration, and role-playing, all of which have been employed with the disadvantaged. Games involving physical action could also be included. These communication methods can be called socializing methods because they focus on external action as impetus to change in behavior.

Analysis of Specific Methods

The importance of decision-making could probably be communicated to middle-class groups through neotechnical literature and discussion. With the disadvantaged, it is a different matter. While easy-to-read literature may be a useful adjunct to other methods of communicating with the disadvantaged, it has been found to be ineffective as a single method (26). A major disadvantage of the use of reading matter is that it is not congruent with the disadvantaged person's orientation to physical activity.

Because discussion methods emphasize talking rather than doing, they may not appeal to the disadvantaged, who often view such techniques as impractical. As a single communication device, its focus on introspection and abstraction is inconsistent with the traits of the disadvantaged.

Silent visuals which put abstract concepts into nonverbal forms are suited to the disadvantaged person's language style. Such visuals would probably be most effective as supplementary teaching aids rather than as the major method of communicating the importance of financial decision-making. Audiovisual techniques such as a filmed case study may be physically oriented enough to stimulate introspection and abstraction concerning the importance of decision-making, but it involves vicarious experience rather than active, personal experience. Such a film should be carefully designed to portray situations realistic to the disadvantaged. However, choice of

characters and settings might limit the usefulness of the film with certain subgroups of the disadvantaged.

Go-do expeditions, games, and role-playing all can involve a physically active experience. They may be employed with either groups or individuals. Because they build on the motives of fun, excitement, and newness, an informal atmosphere is frequently associated with them. Each can be short and simple, having clearly defined structure. Through participation in the activity involved, it is possible for the individual to receive nonverbal communication through his senses. Results of the action may then be utilized as a basis for introspection and abstraction. The potential of these methods for communicating the importance of financial decision-making to young disadvantaged families lies in their consistency with the cultural, cognitive, and language styles of the disadvantaged.

Although the go-do expedition shares with games and role-playing the advantages described, it primarily emphasizes the "how to": how to shop, how to behave in a downtown store, etc. For this reason, go-do expeditions as a single method would probably not be so effective as the other two in communicating the importance of financial decision-making.

According to Riessman (27), disadvantaged people have responded positively to role-playing techniques. Role-playing also has potential for communicating the power and transferability of financial decision-making because of its congruity with the physically oriented problem-solving style of the disadvantaged.

Preference of the disadvantaged for structured learning situations indicates a need for structuring the role-playing situation. Furthermore, if the worker structures the role-playing situation, the experience may be channeled toward teaching the desired concepts. The initial role-playing situation should be focused on decision-making behavior regarding a financial problem which the homemaker is currently facing. For example, the worker could suggest that the roles of two homemakers with contrasting attitudes toward money be adopted and played by the participant. Hopefully, the differences in the roles would be obvious enough to indicate to the homemaker the power of controlling the income; which is a result of conscious decision-making. The practicality of financial decision-making suggested by its applicability to many types of problems could be illustrated through again playing the roles of the two homemakers in other financial situations. Props such as play money could add reality to the role-playing situation. If role-playing were used with a group, it could take the form of skits.

A game which involves physical action related to making choices would probably be the most effective means for communicating the importance of financial decision-making to young disadvantaged homemakers. Board games have the advantage of involving the physical movement of a counter on the board, as well as providing a nonverbal picture of the action, which has occurred. These properties appear to make them suitable for communicating the importance of financial decision-making. A short board game with this

objective could be designed so that the player must make alternative choices at each move which result in expenditure of a portion of a monthly income in play money. To avoid a complex decision network on the board and to keep the game problem-oriented, a board could be designed for each of a number of financial or consumer decisions frequently encountered by the disadvantaged homemaker. In addition, the game could be planned for use with either individuals or groups of from two to four players in the context of their own financial situations. When only one person plays, she could play the game at least twice as a basis for comparing what makes the difference in the results of her choices; in a group situation, the results of the alternatives chosen by each player may be compared and discussed with respect to the reasons for the difference in results and in feelings experienced. The worker may guide the player to state in her own words the power of choice. Playing the game on two or more financial problem boards with follow-up discussion should suggest to the players the transferability and, thus, the practicality of making conscious financial or other decisions.

Physically oriented games and role-playing are two methods which appear to have potential for communicating the importance of decision-making to disadvantaged families. It is suggested that they be used as the major communication methods, supplemented by other methods which reinforce the learning which has occurred. Games and role-playing are not only motivating devices, but recent research also indicates their value as teaching tools. This is especially true in regard to games. A study by Anderson (28) comparing the learning results obtained from three groups found a significantly higher degree of learning with the group using simulation than with those using case studies or problem papers. Coleman points out that the major strength of games in teaching is that they allow participants to discover for themselves principles which govern a situation (29). Such discovery, it is believed, is more effective in learning and retaining information than is traditional lecturing and reading. Hall Sprague, director of Project SIMILE at La Jolla's Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, points to games as being "to the soft sciences what a laboratory is to the hard sciences of physics, chemistry and biology." (30)

Result of Literature Integration

Available literature, as integrated in the preceding discussion, led to the formulation of three broad hypotheses:

1. Methods which are consistent with the adult socialization model will be more effective for communicating with disadvantaged families than will those which are consistent with the psychoanalytic model.

2. A physically oriented game will stimulate the disadvantaged homemaker to recognize the power and transferability of financial decision-making.

3. Participation in role-playing by the disadvantaged homemaker will stimulate her to recognize the power and transferability of decision-making.

Testing the Hypotheses

Testing of these hypotheses could lead to more firmly grounded knowledge of effective means of communicating with disadvantaged families. To determine the validity of the first hypothesis, adult socialization theory needs to be examined in greater detail in order to more clearly identify methods of communication which are consistent with the model.

On the basis of the brief examination of the adult socialization theory in this study, it appears that both role-playing and physically oriented games are consistent with the model. Validation of their effectiveness for communicating the importance of financial decision-making to young disadvantaged homemakers may provide partial support for Hypothesis 1.

In order to discover the effectiveness of role-playing and physically oriented games for communicating the importance of financial decision-making to young disadvantaged homemakers, both methods require further development based on review of the literature and pilot studies. Some prior time should also be spent with young disadvantaged homemakers to identify specific problems upon which to build a game or structure role-playing situations. Various forms of a game or various role-playing situations could be devised and compared. Before attempting to test the effectiveness of game and/or role-playing situations developed, rapport would need to be established. Each method could be studied alone or the effectiveness of each could be compared.

Techniques for evaluation of the effectiveness of a communication method should focus on behavioral outcomes which can be objectively measured. Therefore, specific measuring devices need to be developed or existing ones modified. An interview schedule might be designed to identify the financial decision-making behavior of disadvantaged homemakers, their attitudes toward financial decision-making, or the degree of their recognition of the power and transferability of financial decision-making. Results of interviews both before and after utilization of the communication methods could be compared to determine whether a behavioral or attitudinal change had occurred. Because the interview does not rely on paper-and-pencil testing reminiscent of school experience, it is probably more suitable than the self-administered questionnaire for obtaining information from the disadvantaged. Furthermore, the atmosphere of an interview can be personal and *informal—qualities which are characteristic of situations preferred by the* disadvantaged.

To measure changes in concepts of the importance of financial decision-making, a technique similar to a Q-Sort might be developed. Statements on the cards would represent either attitudes toward financial decision-making or statements of decision-making behavior. The homemaker would be requested to sort the cards both before and after the communication method was used. Statements on the cards should be simple and in language understandable to the disadvantaged. Because no writing or checking of answers

is required, the novelty of physical involvement in sorting the cards might motivate the homemaker to complete the Q-Sort.

Implications for Further Research

If role-playing and/or physically oriented games prove to be effective methods of communicating the importance of financial decision-making to young disadvantaged homemakers, it would be fruitful to study their effectiveness with other disadvantaged groups. An investigation of the adaptability of each of the communication methods for use with individuals and groups could reveal the type of situation to which each is best suited. Identification of supplementary communication methods which would reinforce the learning from role-playing and games would aid the worker in planning and implementing a total sequence of learning experiences to communicate the importance of financial decision-making.

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PART TWO

Teaching Language Arts: Elementary

Ask any teacher or parent which children will be unsuccessful in progressing through the typical public school and his answer, in all likelihood, will be those children who are unable to master the fundamental language arts skills of speaking-listening and writing-reading. The great majority of these children are from economically disadvantaged or culturally different homes.

Teaching the language arts skills effectively, especially during the child's early years in school, has become *the* basic problem in teaching disadvantaged children. Parents of many disadvantaged children are now telling us, in effect, "Forget about my child's social and emotional development. Forget even about teaching him subject matter. Please, just teach him how to read." These parents have a point. Why our public schools have been unable to perform this most basic of educational services for large numbers of children is incomprehensible to them.

Two approaches to the problem are discussed in the articles in this section. The first suggests that we prepare children more adequately to master current elementary reading programs by locating specific deficiencies in children's learning and creating highly structured programs to help them overcome these deficiencies. Many of our present textbook-based remedial reading programs are oriented in this direction. However, as Blank and Solomon point out in their article, such programs may be based on a faulty diagnosis of what really handicaps the slow-developing reader and they suggest that his need to develop abstract thinking *skills* and the higher mental processes are more crucial than his need to develop a larger vocabulary and better word attack skills. They also express some doubt concerning the value of the typical total enrichment, experience-oriented reading program. Their comparison of it and its failures to a wide-range antibiotic is a most provocative analogy.

Most of the remaining articles in this section advocate more rather, than less experience-oriented reading and suggest methods that

rely on (1) elements of the language experience approach, (2) individualized instruction, (3) parent involvement, (4) stimulating materials, and (5) teaching the language arts skills in an integrated fashion. The rationale underlying these methods seems to be one of modifying the school environment and the instructional program in ways that allow children greater freedom to identify and meet their own academic needs. Bromwich does an excellent job of contrasting the "structured" and the "unstructured" approaches io the second article of this section. Your own choice between these two general methods will probably depend on whether you believe disadvantaged children need more structure or more freedom in their classrooms. Or you may, as Bromwich does, combine the two approaches in some way. There are numerous suggestions in these articles concerning specific learning activities and learning materials that you may be able to adapt to your own program and situation.

Ooe article that we urge you to read (regardless of your years of teaching experience) is the article by Loban. We are sure this article represents new information for most teachers. Generations of middle-class teachers have corrected children's grammar, prooounciatioo, and word usage because they naively believed that there was a right and a wrong way to use language. Loban does his best to shatter this mistaken and unfortunate image of the teacher's role and offers an approach to this particular problem that provides much better prospects for a successful solution than the traditional one.

✵ A Tutorial Language Program to Develop Abstract Thinking in Socially Disadvantaged Preschool Children

MARION BLANK AND FRANCES SOLOMON

A specialized language program was developed to facilitate abstract thinking in young deprived children through short, individual tutoring sessions on a daily basis. The role of individual attention in the experiment was controlled through the use of a comparison group which had daily individual sessions without the specialized tutoring. A second comparison group was included which consisted of children who received their usual training in the regular nursery school program. The results show a marked gain in IQ for the groups who received the specialized tutoring and no significant gains for the control groups.

Widespread deficiencies ranging across the cognitive, affective, motivational, and social areas have been found in deprived children. Compensatory programs have therefore aimed at exposing the children to a different and wider range of almost every type of stimulus deemed to be beneficial (e.g., better equipment, parent participation, trips, perceptual training). In essence, this approach assumes that all factors contribute an equal amount to the alleviation of the deficits found in the deprived child.

This paper outlines an approach which offers an alternative to the philosophy of total enrichment. The premise of this approach is that, while total enrichment is not without value, it does not diagnose the key deficits of the deprived child. The usual concept of enrichment is also limited by the idea that exposure to the previously absent stimuli is sufficient for learning.

We feel that exposure to an infinite number of ostensibly enriching stimuli does not necessarily overcome the deficits. Presentation alone does not insure that the child will partake of newly available material. If learning

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is to occur, the child must involve himself actively with the stimuli so as to comprehend their significance. Active involvement refers, not to motor activity, but rather to the internal mental manipulation of experience. The latter applies to skills involving the ability to organize thoughts, to reflect upon situations, to comprehend the meaning of events, and to structure behavior so as to be able to choose among alternatives.

These skills coincide with many of the characteristics defining the abstract attitude (Goldstein, 1959). Research by the senior author (Blank & Bridger, 1964, 1966, 1967) has led us to postulate that the failure to develop this abstract attitude represents the most glaring deficiency of deprived children. *Their behavior reflects the lack of a symbolic system by which to organize the plentiful stimulation surrounding them.*

The problem then arises of what is the most effective means for developing abstract thinking. We feel that an internal symbolic system can best be achieved through the development of abstract language (Vygotsky, 1962). Certain types of language, such as labeling clear, circumscribed objects (e.g., bottle, table, ball), can be grasped easily through illustration and/or imitation. Therefore, no great effort is required to learn these words. By contrast, words referring to properties which are not immediately evident require much elaboration for understanding. For example, a word such as "top" is much more abstract than a word such as "book." The word "top" can refer to such physically different things as the "top" of one's head, the "top" of one's desk, and the "top" of a building. The word unites these instances only when there is an understanding that "top" refers to the highest point on anything, regardless of how different the "anythings" look. Other examples requiring a similar level of abstraction are time (before, after), direction (underneath, between), and relative judgments (warmer, heavier). It is here that an articulate person, be it mother, teacher, or sibling, is required to offer the necessary corroboration or negation of the child's emerging ideas.

This type of feedback is readily available in the middle-class home, but it is rare in the lower-class home (see Freeburg & Payne, 1967). We therefore propose that this lack of an ongoing, elaborated dialogue is the major experiential deficit of the deprived child (Bernstein, 1960).

Previous attempts to transmit this aspect of learning to disadvantaged children have relied on using the group situation (Bereiter & Engelmann, 1966; Deutsch, 1964; Gray & Klaus, 1965). A serious question arises of whether early language skills can be fostered in a group situation or whether we must in some way mirror the middle-class one-to-one situation. For example, if given a direction to "place the red block on top of the blue one," a child in the group setting can wait to see what the other children do and simply *imitate* their action. Of course, the child might listen to the language and associate it with the key features of the performance he just imitated. However, this method relies on the hope that the child will avail himself of this opportunity to learn. Nothing inherent in the situation requires him

either to heed or to understand the language in order to fulfil the demands placed upon him.

In the latter example, the child at least had to make a response; in many classroom situations, no overt response is required. It is assumed that, when the teacher instructs, the child makes the appropriate inner response even though he is not required to answer overtly. If the inner response is lacking, he cannot follow the dialogue, and the teaching, no matter how well organized, is lost. By contrast, the one-to-one situation can be easily designed so that the child is required to use his language skills, and then he cannot function on a level lower than the goals set by the teacher. In addition, since goals set in individual instruction are designed for the child's specific capabilities, they are more likely to be appropriate.

Although most educators acknowledge that ideal teaching would be a one-to-one relation, this has been deemed impractical because of the costs involved. The conclusion of excessive costs is based on the implicit assumption that individual teaching would or should occupy most of the teaching day. Little consideration has been given to the possible effectiveness of short periods of daily individual instruction, even though such instruction is widely and effectively used in the initial teaching of language to other language-deficient groups, such as deaf children (Blank, 1965). In addition, the limited attention spans of young children suggest that relatively brief sessions involving frequent reinforcement of new (language) skills would theoretically be the most effective means of teaching.

In summary, our assumptions were

1. Deprived preschool children do not have a firm language base for thinking. They will develop one only if they are given consistent guidance. This leads to the further assumption that the most effective teaching is based on individual tutoring.

2. Language acquisition, like any new complex skill, may be met with some resistance. To prevent resistance from becoming established, the child should not be permitted to leave a task unfinished. If necessary, the task can be simplified, but the child should still be required to fulfil the demands set by the teacher. Once these initial difficulties have been conquered, the child is able to experience great pleasure both in using this new tool and in knowing that he has this tool to use.

3. Young children have short attention spans and therefore need relatively brief but frequent reinforcement of new skills (i.e., 5 days a week for 15–20 minutes each day, resulting in a total of about 1¾ hours of tutoring per week).

4. The new command of language will allow the child to cope more effectively with an otherwise debilitating environment. Therefore, marked improvements in many aspects of maladaptive behavior should occur.

Based on these considerations, an exploratory program was developed which involved brief daily teaching of language skills for abstract thinking. The central hypothesis was that intervention limited to the development of

language for reflection would play such a vital role in cognition that it would facilitate not only language but many other aspects of thinking.

Method

Teaching Techniques

Even though we are stressing abstract language, we are not deceived into thinking that the young child is capable of the highest level of concept formation. His concepts must still be bound to direct referents because he needs some tangible evidence of the idea being demonstrated. Nevertheless, the young child can be taught to bring to his level of conceptualization the processes of thinking vital to the development of abstraction.

The first goal of the teaching was to have the child recognize that information relevant to his world was not immediately evident but could be and *had* to be sought from his previous experience. Thus he was taught to question, to probe, to investigate. For example, the teacher put on her coat at the end of a session. The child said, "Why are you going home?" The teacher replied, "How do you know I am going home?" to which the child said, "You're not going home?" This response meant that the child had dropped any attempt at reasoning; he had interpreted the teacher's query to mean that he must negate his earlier inference. To encourage the child to pursue the matter, the teacher said "I *am* going home, but what makes you think I am going home? When you get ready to go home, what do you do?" The child said, "I get my coat." A discussion then followed to solidify the significance of these observations. Thus Socratic dialogue was employed instead of didactic teaching.

Various teaching methods were devised to achieve these goals. A common denominator of all the methods was that the child was confronted with situations in which the teacher used no gestures; to accomplish the task correctly, the child had to understand and/or use language. Another consistent factor was that the child was led to produce an independent response relevant to a situation created by the teacher and to extend the situation set forth by her. This extension focused on having the child discuss situations which did not exist in front of him at the moment but which were relevant to the present situations (e.g., past, future, alternative courses of action, giving explanations of events). By structuring the teaching time in this way, the teacher made maximum use of every opportunity to aid the child in developing his budding ability to think and to reflect. Some of the major techniques used are described below. As the work progresses, we hope to expand and refine this list. It should be noted that each technique is specifically geared to overcome a particular deficiency. This is in contrast to the concept of an enriched environment where the aim is to give a massive dosage that will somehow hit the individual deficiencies. Specifically, the method attempted to develop the following:

a. Selective attention. The young child has few guidelines to assist him in discriminating selectively from the plethora of stimuli which surround him. He tends to be drawn to stimuli which may not be of great cognitive importance but which have potent perceptual qualities (e.g., blast of a horn, a whirling disk). The aim of this technique was to teach the child to recognize essential elements by requiring him to compare objects and make choices among them (e.g., if given a group of different-colored blocks, he was asked to take "two red blocks and one green block"). In this example, the higher-level concept of number helps the child restrain his impulse to respond primitively to the sensory impact of color alone.

b. Categories of exclusion. When the adult gives specific instructions (e.g., "get a crayon"), the child does not need to reflect upon the characteristics of a particular category; he merely responds to direct commands. When the adult gives no direction, the child works aimlessly. When the child can work within the confines of exclusion, however, it means that he has understood the teacher's frame of reference and can independently make appropriate responses. To develop this skill, the child may be asked to make decisions within the confines set by the teacher. For example, the child may be asked to draw something, and he may draw a circle. To encourage the development of exclusion, he would then be asked to draw something "other than a circle."

c. Imagery of future events. The young child can easily describe existing objects and situations. Difficulty arises when he must perceive the meaning of this information relevant to a particular context (see John, 1963). To increase this capacity, the child was required to think through the results of realistically possible but not present courses of action. The child might be first asked to locate a doll that was on the table. After the child completed this correctly, the doll would remain on the table, and the child might be asked, "Where would the doll be if it fell from the table?"

d. Relevant inner verbalization. We have found that many deprived children will use language to direct their problem-solving only when asked to; they will not spontaneously use language when these external requirements are not imposed. Thus it is not a matter of not having the words but rather a matter of not voluntarily using these words without specific demands. This technique attempts to train the children to develop inner verbalization by retaining words as substitutes for objects. In this method, the child must use language silently and then express it upon request. He might be asked to look at a picture, say the name to himself, and then after the picture has been removed *tell the name to the teacher.*

e. Separation of the word from its referent. Young children tend to respond to language automatically without fully recognizing that the word exists independently of the object or action represented. If this separation is not achieved, the child will not generalize the meaning of words beyond the particular contexts in which he hears them. To encourage the ability to reflect upon meaning, the child might be given a command which he must

repeat aloud *before* acting out the command—for example, "Jump up two times," "Walk to the door and open it."

f. Models for cause-and-effect reasonings. Our research (Blank & Bridger, 1966, 1967) has indicated that the perceptual powers of deprived children are intact; they need help, however, in organizing their observations so as to comprehend their significance. To achieve this comprehension, the child can be led to observe common but not frequently noted phenomena (e.g., "What is the weather outside today?" "Can we go out and play today?"). He can then be asked to draw upon his previous experience to determine the reasons underlying these observations (e.g., "Why can't we go out and play?" "Where is the rain coming from?").

g. Ability to categorize. The place of categorization in thinking has been well documented, and its importance was recognized in this project. To aid the children in this sphere, elementary categories such as food, clothing, transportation, and job functions were taught. Thus, after feeding a doll an imaginary apple, the child was asked to name some other fruits that the doll might eat. Then, utilizing the process of exclusion (*b* above), the child might be asked to name some foods that were *not* fruits.

h. Awareness of possessing language. Frequently young children are only passive recipients of instruction. This deficiency means that they are unaware that they can independently invoke language to help order their world. This weakness can be overcome by techniques such as asking the child to give commands to the teacher. The teacher might say to the child, "What shall I do with these pencils?" "Now you ask *me* to draw something." "Now tell me what the doll should do this afternoon."

i. Sustained sequential thinking. Just as musical notes attain their full meaning only when heard within a melody, words attain their full potential only when imbedded in context. This is true even at the elementary level of a simple sentence, and it becomes increasingly important as chains of events extending into time and space must be understood. To be able to see objects, events, and words as located within their appropriate framework, the child has to be taught to maintain concentration and to determine all the possibilities of a course of action. For example, in discussing ways in which material can be altered, the discussion might begin with vegetable dyes (their function, their appearance, etc.). The issue can then be raised as to what can happen to these dyes under various conditions (diluting them with water, leaving them in concentrated form, etc.). In each case, the child is required to apply the necessary change (e.g., add the water) so that he can directly and immediately experience the phenomenon being discussed.

These techniques for achieving higher mental processes are in contrast to the language programs stressing concepts as an end in themselves. In our view, concepts were seen as the necessary preliminary tools for thinking; accordingly, they occupied only a segment of the program. The

type of concept taught could not be illustrated by simple direct examples or simple labeling. For example, to call an object a "book" may facilitate communication, but it does not serve to abstract anything more of the object than does a gesture. In addition, the child who can label glibly is often deceptive, since his facile use of words gives the false appearance of understanding. Concepts such as number, speed, direction, temperature, and emotions are suitable for stressing the more abstract functions of language. Techniques for teaching these concepts have been well documented by Bereiter and Engelmann (1966).

Common inexpensive objects readily available in the child's environment were the only ones used in the teaching (e.g., papers, crayons, blocks, toy cars, simple books). The materials were used only as points of departure from which the child could discuss increasingly abstract (nonpresently-existing) situations which were relevant to the materials. The same materials, when used alone by the child without supervision, might prove useless in terms of the aims of the study—namely, the avoidance of aimless, scattered, stimulus-bound activity.

Subjects and Procedure

The subjects were selected from a nursery school in a socioeconomically deprived area in New York City. All 22 children from the youngest classes were tested on the Stanford-Binet Intelligence Test (S-B Test) and the Leiter Scale. The children ranged in age from 3 years, 3 months to 4 years, 7 months. Based on these test results, the children were divided into four groups, two tutored and two untutored, matched as closely as possible for IQ, age, and sex. Each child in the first tutored group received individual teaching for 15-20 minutes daily, five times per week; each child in the second tutored group received the same training only three times a week. This tutoring involved taking the child for this short period from his classroom to a familiar room in the school. Each child in one untutored group had daily individual sessions with the same teacher, but no attempt was made to tutor the child. During this time, the child was exposed to the identical materials and was permitted to engage in any activity of his choice. While the teacher was warm and responsive to the child's questions and comments, she did not initiate or extend any cognitive interchange. *This group was included to control for the possible role of individual at-*tention alone in facilitating intellectual performance. Another untutored group of seven children remained in the regular nursery school program with no additional attention.

All the tutoring was conducted by a professional nursery school teacher who was trained in the techniques outlined above. The experiment took place over a 4-month period, after which the children were retested. Both the pre- and post-testing were conducted by two research assistants

who did not know to which of the groups the children had been assigned and who had had no contact with the children other than at the time of testing.

Results

The pre- and post-test results on the S-B Test are shown in Table 1. Mean IQ increases in tutored groups 1 and 2 were 14.5 and 7.0 points, respectively; in untutored groups 1 and 2, the changes were 2.0 and 1.3 points, respectively. A Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance indicated that the changes in the four groups were significantly different ($p < .05$). A Mann-Whitney Test indicated that the rise in the tutored groups was significantly greater than the rise in the untutored groups ($p < .02$). Although the difference was not significant, the gain by the group tutored five times a week was greater than that of the group tutored three times a week. This suggests that improvements in performance may be directly correlated to the amount of tutoring per week. The lack of a clear difference in gain between the two untutored groups indicates that the element of individual attention from an adult without specialized tutoring was not sufficient to achieve the rise in IQ scores.

The results on the Leiter Scale, though somewhat less marked, are in accord with those on the S-B Test. Thus, tutored groups 1 and 2 showed mean increases of 4.5 and 9.5, respectively, while untutored groups 1 and 2 showed 5.0 and 1.9, respectively. The lower overall gains on the Leiter Scale may also be a reflection of the fact that this test does not require verbal abilities, while the teaching techniques emphasized verbal development. The Leiter scores, however, showed erratic variations. For example, untutored children who remained in the classroom showed spontaneous losses and gains of up to 20 points. This result leads us to believe that the Leiter performance is not a reliable indicator of functioning at this age range.

These IQ changes must also be evaluated in conjunction with the dramatic behavioral changes that accompanied these rises. For example, three of the children were so excessively withdrawn that they had not uttered any coherent verbalizations during their entire time in school. They also exhibited other severe symptoms, such as drooling, "ramlike" headbutting, and bizarre physical coordination. Within 1 month after the program was started, all three were speaking clearly, coherently, and appropriately, and there was a diminution of all symptomatology. No comparable changes were noted in the children from the control groups who exhibited similar symptomatology.

Even among the children who were relatively well functioning, striking improvements were found. For example, on the S-B Test the pre-test response of one girl in describing a picture was "a lady, a horse"; the post-test response was, "The mother is trying to catch the dog with the clothes,

the dog takes the clothes, and the mother was trying to get it." This response illustrates the growth from simple labeling to a coordinated, sequential story construction.

The most striking gains in the program were the apparent joy in learning and the feeling of mastery which the children displayed as the tutoring progressed. The untutored children, even those who received individual attention, showed none of these attitudes. This result is extremely important in that it strongly suggests that exposure to materials, a school-like situation, and an interested adult is not sufficient for learning. Both

TABLE 1
Pre- and Post-test Stanford-Binet Scores

Sex	Age[a]	Total Hours Tutored	IQ		
			Pre	Post	Change
Tutored group 1 (5 times/wk.):					
F1	3.8	11	70	98	+28
F2	3.11	11	100	109	+9
F3	3.4	13	104	115	+11
M1	3.3	12	111	127	+16
M2	3.11	14	90	109	+19
M3	3.7	14	111	115	+4
Mean			97.7	112.2	+14.5
Tutored group 2 (3 times/wk.):					
F4	3.9	8	89	105	+16
F5	4.7	6	86	98	+12
F6	4.5	7	103	103	0
F7	3.3	6	79[b]	96	+17
M4	3.11	9	94	93	−1
M5	4.0	5	107	105	−2
Mean			93.0	100.0	+7.0
Untutored group 1 (5 times/wk.):					
F8	4.1	13	107	111	+4
M6	4.4	10	101	99	−2
M7	4.2	11	80	84	+4
Mean			96.0	98.0	+2.0

TABLE 1 (continued)

Sex	Age[a]	Total Hours Tutored	IQ		
			Pre	Post	Change
Untutored group 2 (classroom):					
F9	4.6		97	99	+2
F10	3.5		105	107	+2
F11	3.11		105	103	-2
F12	4.2		117	114	-3
M8	4.2		115	124	+9
M9	4.2		83	88	0
M10	3.5		93	94	+1
Mean			102.8	104.1	+1.3

[a] Age at beginning of study.
[b] No basal score was achieved; a basal MA of 2 years was assumed for the calculations, thus overestimating the score.

mastery and enthusiasm for learning will come only when the child can be shown how to become actively involved in the learning process.

Discussion

The program outlined above is offered as a means of teaching those language skills necessary for developing abstract thinking in disadvantaged preschool children. We feel that most enrichment programs, and indeed most nursery school programs, are remiss in this area. It is generally assumed that abstract thinking will evolve naturally by school age from having an enriched environment available in the early years. This expectation is often met in the case of middle-class children, because the skills not taught by the nursery school are learned in the verbally rich home environment. In the case of the lower-class child, these experiences are not available.

Although the disadvantaged child has not been given the necessary tools for thinking, there are implicit expectations when he enters school that he has a well-formulated abstract attitude. For example, multiple-choice questions are common in reading-readiness tests. Aside from the content, this type of question assumes that the child can evaluate a series sequentially, can refocus attention selectively, and can realize that he must make a definitive choice between alternatives. How is this abstract attitude to emerge? Our research indicates that high-level language skills are central to the development of this kind of thinking. Even at the preschool level, there are tasks for which abstract language is the only means of solution

(Blank & Bridger, 1964). Therefore, it is risky to hope that the "fallout" from a perceptually enriched environment will encourage the formation of what is the central core of intelligence.

Even where the language deficits of the deprived preschooler are recognized, they are treated through enlarging the vocabulary, since vocabulary is seen as the basic unit of language. Implicit in this approach is that, as in perceptual training, mere exposure to the basic units will "lubricate" the entire language system. It is our thesis that these children do not simply need more and better words; rather, they need to use the language they already have, as well as any new words they learn, to structure and guide their thinking.

Although this approach benefited the children in this study, its full potential needs further exploration. In addition, it is believed that the program would have to be maintained for a considerable period of time, probably for about 2–3 years, for the gain to be maintained independently thereafter by the child. Reasoning is still difficult for these children, and they need continuing guidance for it to become firmly established. However, considering the amount of time (approximately 60–90 minutes per week per child), the low cost of the materials, and the rapid gains in performance, it seems worthwhile to pursue this program as a technique for facilitating cognitive growth in young children from deprived backgrounds.

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Developing the Language
of Young Disadvantaged Children

ROSE M. BROMWICH

Recent research has shown consistently that verbal ability, the corner-stone of intellectual as well as academic progress, is a particular weakness of children from poverty areas. Various attempts have been made to develop and enhance verbal ability of young children in Project Head Start and similar programs as well as in some compensatory education programs at the kindergarten and primary grade levels in public schools.

Generally represented in these programs are two schools of thought: the prescriptive-instructional approach (currently prevalent in experimental and research programs) and the developmental approach. The former includes three types of methods. One stresses imitation, repetition, and practice in teaching standard English to disadvantaged preschoolers, while the second is programed learning, based on the learning theory of reinforcement and B. F. Skinner's principles of operant conditioning. The third is a revival of the Montessori method, with its emphasis on sense training oriented toward the learning of the basic tool subjects. The focus is on the materials used by the child, as in programed learning, although the child selects the materials he wants to use at any particular time and he, rather than the programmer, determines the sequence of tasks. There is a minimum of interaction between the teacher (who assumes a supervisory role) and children as well as among children—each child works individually and silently with equipment related to the learning of basic skills.

The second major educational approach, based on the developmental point of view, embodies the idea that growth and development take place best when the child finds himself in a rich environment carefully planned to include many varied opportunities for development and learning as well as an atmosphere of friendliness and psychological safety. In this environment the child will be motivated to explore, discover, and acquire new knowledge about the world around him through his own initiative, and will want to communicate verbally with interested adults and with his peers.

The difference is clear. The prescriptive-instructional approach assumes

that the educator or psychologist knows what the child should learn, how he should learn it, and in what sequence. The developmental approach assumes that each child is a unique organism who can be trusted to select experiences from which he will profit most at any particular time because these experiences meet his present needs and he is ready to incorporate them intellectually, socially, and emotionally.

This writer does not subscribe to the prescriptive-instructional approach to improving the verbal ability of young disadvantaged children, but neither does she give full support to the developmental approach described. Because the disadvantaged child is likely to enter the preschool or school situation with a paucity of verbal meanings developed in the home, it is unlikely that he will seek or select oo his own those learning opportunities in the environment which would most enhance his growth in the cognitive area.

A Third Approach

I propose, therefore, a third approach, in harmony with the developmental point of view, but emphasizing to a greater extent the importaoce of helping the disadvantaged child develop expressive or spoken language in communicatioo with others and in relation to his experiences throughout the day.

An atmosphere ean and must be created in preschool and beginning school situations that communicates to the child that his verbal expressions of thought and feeling, his questions, and his comments relative to his everyday experiences are accepted and welcome. He must be helped to communicate before that restrictive linguistic code of his home environment becomes totally habitual, and he divorces the use of language from everyday experience and relationships.

Although research emphasizes the importance of expressive language in the child's total cognitive development, in educational programs using the prescriptive-instructional approach this area of activity is inhibited almost completely, as in the Montessori schools; limited to occasionally talking into a tape recorder, as in programed instruction; or restricted to academic-type instruction. In a nursery school or Head Start program adhering to the developmental point of view, the child is usually left to select his own activities, which, without sufficient baekground of verbal meanings and verbal experience, will be of a type which does not add to his ability to express himself verbally.

The young child from poverty areas will learn to use language to express his thoughts and his feelings when he recognizes an atmosphere of receptivity for all his utterances, when he finds his verbal expressions are sought and valued. In public school, however, the young child's verbal expressions are often limited to single-word answers. Expressions of personal feelings or thoughts in response to areas of curriculum are often not

encouraged or even welcome. Whereas in today's schools the role of listener is usually imposed on the child while the teacher does the talking, the roles should be reversed to a large extent. The teacher should be a listener and reactor to the child.

Basis of New Approach

The following propositions, derived from widely recognized research and theory, constitute the basis of a new approach to early childhood education, within the context of the developmental point of view, with an emphasis on the development of expressive language of the disadvantaged child.

1. Beyond Piaget's sensory-motor stage of cognitive development (first two years), language is increasingly involved in cognitive growth.

2. The restricted language code of the lower class inhibits higher intellectual processes. Unless the function of language in the lower class child's everyday life is modified so as to play a more central role in ordering his environment and conceptualizing his world in verbal terms, his intellectual growth and capacity are inhibited.

3. Many young children from poverty areas are eager to be listened to, to communicate with interested adults, who are often hard to find. Many of these children are quite spontaneous and become easily interested and personally involved with stimuli that are not too bland, stimuli that *are likely to evoke some effect or relate to some personal experience.*

4. These same children, although verbal (often not in standard English) and responsive in an open-ended situation in which whatever they say is accepted and important, generally do not relate themselves to the learning tasks in the classroom. In fact, they often become disturbing elements, *as they are not in rapport with the teacher-directed activities.*

5. Spontaneity, verbal responsiveness, and eagerness to be listened to can be capitalized on before the child concludes that these traits must be suppressed if he is to succeed in school—or sees himself as an outsider who must either withdraw or call attention to himself by being disruptive *in an attempt to maintain his self-respect.*

6. Situations can be created in preschool, kindergarten, and primary grades that capture the child's interest and imagination, that get the child involved at a verbal level, and that allow the child to feel that what he has to say is of interest to others, that it is of worth, and that, therefore, *he is of worth.*

7. As the child increasingly uses language to communicate and relate with others, to express thoughts and feelings, and to order stimuli in his environment, he will find language a useful tool, one that helps him to gain self-confidence, social acceptance, greater understanding of the world around him, and increased competence in communicating with others and in dealing with physical as well as human aspects of his world.

Numerous school situations can be created in which young children's verbal expression is sought and valued, such as discussion of pictures that represent something within their realm of familiarity, and language games, including singing games, relating to their life experiences in and out of school. Fantasy, especially when it originates from the child, should be welcome. Games can be invented which put a premium on the children's asking of questions. Asking questions and commenting on daily activities and experiences should be encouraged throughout the day. Situations must be created where the child faces open-ended questions or verbal challenges. Through interpersonal contact and friendly conversation, the setting should encourage the child to increasingly translate experiences and new discoveries into verbal concepts.

The verbal expression and thinking of children can be stretched through the interest of adults and other children who listen. Listening by the adults can grow into writing up the child's story, *his* story, or taping it and playing it back to him. The exercise of the child's verbal power is a most productive manner in which language and thought can be encouraged and enhanced. Teacher aides or volunteers could help immeasurably.

The learning that is likely to take place in talk-oriented schools is of intellectual, psychological, and social value. The child is motivated to continue to relate to materials and people, to attend to tasks given him, and to learn, within an environment which is both gratifying and stimulating. He is encouraged in the use of language to communicate thoughts and feelings; he learns the value of conversation in human relations, the use of verbal expression as well as the value of listening (after having had ample experience of being listened to); he becomes aware of the process involved in a two-way communication; he learns new concepts and generally extends his verbal capacity; he gains satisfaction from the use of language in the service of developing gratifying relationships with adults and hopefully with peers (especially in an integrated situation); and he gains satisfaction from developing new levels of competence so essential to a feeling of self-worth.

In the context of today's—which is often yesterday's—school curriculum, achievement motivation and a certain level of cognitive and verbal functioning are necessary if a child is to succeed. The disadvantaged child, who usually possesses neither of these, is destined to fail unless ways are are found by which he can become intellectually and personally involved.

Developing Creativity with
the Culturally Deprived

JEAN LLOYD

Similarities between an orbiting astronaut and a five-year-old are surprising. Within his immediate environment, each has the same goals and attitudes. Each is an explorer, reaching into strange new corners of the universe. Each soaks up impressions; sorts out experiences; files reactions; learns to feel knowledgeable and comfortable in surroundings that are full of crises, vivid surprises, sudden terrors, and unending excitement. This excitement is as real for the five-year-old who cannot go to school for lack of shoes as it is for the child from an expensive suburban home.

The culturally deprived child has been learning prior to coming to school. He has been learning to control his environment (learning how to go up and down steps alone, and out into the street). He has become aware of dangers—people fighting, matches, cars at the curb, leaning out the window, rats. He has developed concrete appreciations of soap bubbles, penny candy, and riding on big buses.

He may bring this knowledge and ability to school with him each day, yet sit, unable to communicate or to understand what is happening there. He uses classroom materials in a tentative, unimaginative way. He "hen scratches" with the crayons, only listens on the toy telephone, "house paints" with the paints, and just pat-a-cakes with the clay.

At home he is talked at, rather than to. He never asks questions about the things he sees or learns because no one ever listens or knows. He learns to shake his head, shrug his shoulders, or point. But in school, he is unable to comprehend the teacher's language. His attention span is short and he is desperately uncomfortable. He is full of knowledge and skills, but none of these have prepared him to function as the school demands he must.

The Creative Child

All children are potentially creative. If creativity is the quality of being able to produce original ideas or work, each new awareness illuminating a child's mind as he develops is an original one. Each new relationship he makes between things that he knows is a creative act. Each beautiful com-

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position he shapes is an original one because he adds a touch, an extra curve, or a splash of color that makes it different from all others. It is *his*.

The creative child *has developed a way of looking at the world*. The world engenders a responsiveness in him, which he desires to express. Such expression gives him happiness and a sense of fulfillment. When such a child goes to the circus, he returns home with the music ringing in his ears. He still smells the sawdust and the elephants. Colors whirl around inside him and there is a sweet taste in his mouth. He relives the experience, and reabsorbs its sensations as he imparts it in some tangible way—with paper and paint or crayon, in dramatic play or song, in poetry or a story.

The creative child *has a strong sense of self*. He has something to say about what he experiences—"This is what I saw, what I heard, what I felt." He transmutes his experience in a way that satisfies him and he is not necessarily concerned how others react to his productions. He is not so anxious to communicate as he is to sift his impressions through his mind and heart and give them expression.

The creative child *has a soul that soaks up beauty, reacting violently to it*. He sees and can attach value to what he sees. He sees and is deeply touched. He reacts to shapes, smells, symmetry, color. He is in love with the world. The beauty around him warms his senses and gives him joy. He must project that joy into the world again. He will recreate it with his hands, his lips, his eyes, his ears, and his mouth. The creative child has been touched by life and it has thrilled him.

Developing Creative Qualities

The development in the culturally deprived child of the above creative qualities is the teacher's most important job. She must give these children a background of exciting experiences to draw from, stimulate within them a curiosity and desire to experiment, help them use words to express what they feel as they experience, develop their concern for things and people. She must impart to them her sense of their worth and her pleasure in their growth. She must help them develop ego, confidence, habits of thoughtfulness, responsiveness, and sharpened senses that lead to self-expression and creation.

The first step in such a metamorphosis is *free-wheeling exploration*. The child must gobble up and digest many varieties of experience. In a period of generally undirected movement, he should be allowed to poke and pound clay, spread on color with a paint brush, recreate his life at home in the doll's corner. He must be allowed to feel and hold the unpopped corn, to watch the kernels explode, to smell and taste them. He must feel the soil under his feet and hear the mechanical sounds as the construction crane sweeps into the air.

If one picture is worth a thousand words, imagine the effect of patting

a real policeman's or fireman's jacket while asking him questions and perhaps putting on his hat.

Such experiences are so wonderful and exciting that the child enjoys the memory of them and likes to *recreate these explorations* (through stick puppets, block building or woodworking, doll-corner pots and pans, paints). Though it is important for children to learn responsibility for the things they use, a teacher must not stifle their exploring by an overzealous sense of order and quiet. She must let them stick pegs in the clay for birthday candles and not insist that the two materials be used separately. Children with shopping carts like to fill them with blocks from the block corner. Youngsters will use materials as needed, so the teacher would do well to consider the "why" as well as the "how."

The wise teacher uses *varied sensory experiences* with a nonverbal youngster. A withdrawn, fearful child often participates in many situations as long as no verbalization is needed. Children of other than English-speaking backgrounds will also profit from such activities, revealing many abilities that the teacher may use to stimulate and motivate him in developing language skill. He may work out his frustrations constructively by woodworking or pounding clay or creating any number of esthetically satisfying art or craft productions.

The middle-class five-year-old generally experiences a tremendous rate of language development. His vocabulary and his sentence structure is complex.

The culturally deprived child is less advanced verbally, but he is, nevertheless, learning.

As he grows creatively, his need for language facility increases. As his sensory experiences become more meaningful, he moves from physical and nonverbal expression of his thoughts and feelings to articulation. Self-awareness flowers as he begins to identify—as the teacher reads stories about his own experiences and activities; as he hears his own name in songs and games; as the teacher warmly comments on his accomplishments. Soon he will begin to tell what he saw, what he heard, how he felt.

Specifics to Try

The Institute of Developmental Studies of New York Medical College, in a project involving preschoolers of deprived backgrounds, has developed an enrichment program emphasizing especially the areas of language and concept formation. *Creativity is an interesting by-product of this program, rather than an avowed goal of it.*

One technique used with the four-year-olds utilized the *tape recorder.* Children are told the first part of a familiar story and are then asked to complete it. The completed version is replayed the next day and the class is asked to supply another ending. In addition to training auditory dis-

crimination and memory (new ending in light of details of given plot), the children are hearing language spoken correctly and imaginations are stimulated as they use language themselves in a creative way.

Story tapes have also been developed. A story is presented and then reviewed, allowing the listening child time for verbal responses. Sometimes the child is asked to repeat a sentence or a new word. Sometimes he must give an opinion or interpret the story, showing comprehension. Nonverbal children who seldom volunteer to speak before the group talk confidently to the voice in the tape recorder.

Telephone conversations between children and teacher are encouraged. In one classroom, a daily event after a quiet time of looking at books was the chance for children to ask questions about something they have seen in the books.

One exciting method I used in developing my classes' language facility, their imaginative faculties, and their conceptual abilities has been a "simile game" encouraging use of comparison. I say, "I like red things . . . as red as . . ." and my Harlem children suggest .. "ketchup, a dress, a heart, Santa Claus, a telephone," and so on. Other examples—"I like big things . . . as big as . . ." and "I like fast things . . . as fast as . . ."

Our Class Story Book contains stories dictated by the children to me or their mothers. Our book has stories about "Our Trip to the Children's Zoo," "Our Pet Chicken and Guinea Pig," "The School Boycott," "How We Answer Children Who Call Us Black to Hurt Us," "How We Put Out a Fire in the Park."

The children learn to express their own opinions in a game of "personal impressions." I might ask, "Do you like to go to bed? Why (or Why Not)?" A consistently rewarding discussion involves "What are you afraid of?" The children describe objects, their thoughts, each other. They make "feeling pictures" from stapled materials and describe the tactile sensations they receive. They are given accurate descriptive words and labels. They love to learn big words and understand the meaning of cooperate, urinate, thermometer, temperature.

During rhythm periods, all I have to say is "Here is an arm. What can we do with it?" or "Think of a way we can move without walking."

Youngsters can't get enough of singing time. My class has never forgotten the introduction of the calypso. They sing folk songs like "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands," with feeling and love. Although they can clap and sing complicated rhythmic patterns like "Fa la la" in "Deck the Hall with Boughs of Holly," with much pleasure, they love simple songs best, and request songs like "Skip to My Lou" over and over. They respond enthusiastically to classical music and quickly recognize the difference in movement and feeling between the Sugar Plum Fairy and the Tropak in "The Nutcracker Suite." One class favorite is a recording of "Porgy and Bess."

⚙ Curriculum Innovations for Disadvantaged Children— What Should They Be?

MILDRED D. SMITH

Introduction and Guidelines

The typical elementary school program does not meet the needs of disadvantaged children because it is founded on the assumption that each child is predisposed to learning what is offered. Children from impoverished backgrounds are not, however, predisposed to learning this curriculum for several reasons:

1. Inadequate language skills—listening and speaking.
2. Poor work habits.
3. Poor physical health.
4. Frequent tardiness and/or absenteeism.
5. Inadequate model figures in the home and community.
6. Unfamiliar content in textbooks.
7. Inadequate motivation.
8. Initial school failure, caused by the above factors, which damage self-esteem and self-confidence.

Planning a program for the disadvantaged is challenging, and it raises many questions for school people. "If the traditional school program is inadequate, what modifications should be made for these children?" "What about charges made by Civil Rights leaders that curriculum changes in schools in ghetto-type communities, when modified, are 'watered down'?" "How do we meet the needs of these children without lowering standards?" is a question which baffles many educators.

It appears to this writer that a school program for disadvantaged children would be similar in many ways to a good typical elementary school program, and yet there would be differences. We would agree that *any* good elementary school has qualified, competent teachers, capable administrative leadership, adequate library facilities, and sufficient quantities of books and other instructional materials for the number of children enrolled in the school. The program in the school for disadvantaged children would be different since these children have deficiencies which will not be ade-

quately met in the typical program. The program for disadvantaged elementary children is therefore compensatory—to compensate for deficiencies of environmental origin. It not only includes additional personnel, resources, facilities, and administrative innovations; but it requires innovations in the day school program as well.

Class Size Needs to Be Reduced

The class size should reflect these children's need for special attention. They require more attention from teachers because they lack self-confidence, have difficulty following directions, have little motivation, use materials poorly, and are underachievers. Little can be accomplished if teachers must work with these children in large groups. Class size in schools with a concentration of disadvantaged children should be considerably smaller than for other schools within the same school system. Classes should be smaller for primary children than for later elementary children within the same building. Although it is difficult to designate a numerical figure, many educators agree that all classes should be under twenty-five, and primary classes should be considerably less than twenty-five.

Teaching Staff Should Be Stabilized

Inexperienced staff members and a high staff turnover, characteristic of many schools for disadvantaged children, undermine attempts at program improvement. Experienced teachers and principals in the same school system should be reassigned so as to give equal strength and stability to each elementary school.

Special Services and Resources Are Needed

Disadvantaged children have many problems which require special attention. A large portion of the teacher's time is therefore consumed with non-teaching activities brought about by health and behavioral problems, tardiness and absenteeism, and lack of motivation which undermine the instructional program. Teachers must be freed from many such activities in order to give more time to the teaching situation.

These special resources and services are needed by disadvantaged children and their teachers:

1. A school library containing many easy-to-read books with exciting stories, stories about experiences familiar to these children, highly illustrative stories, and stories about these children's heroes.
2. An instructional materials center[1] in each building staffed by profes-

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[1] Reference and enrichment materials such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, and recordings should be made available to children for home use.

sionals and nonprofessionals who research, catalog, and dispense curricular materials needed by disadvantaged children.

3. Dental, medical, and visual care.

4. Cultural speech specialists to provide help with speech problems which interfere with phonics training.

5. Resource teachers and curriculum consultants who assist teachers with new materials, techniques, and curriculum planning.

6. Facilities for educational trips and tours which compensate for environmental deficiencies.

7. Home-school communication, coordinated by an individual with sufficient training and maturity to work with teachers and parents.

8. Sufficient services from a diagnostician to help teachers assess needs and progress as well as to assist with placement of transient children who frequently enroll with inadequate records.

9. A school photographer to take pictures of children in academic situations for display, thereby enhancing their academic self-concepts and providing an academic aura in the building, which is frequently lacking.

10. Psychological and psychiatric services such as those provided at a Child Guidance Clinic.

11. A hot breakfast (and lunch) for children who need it.

12. A petty cash fund which allows staff members to purchase needed materials and services, thereby improving instruction and staff morale.

13. A comprehensive continuous inservice program to improve teacher competence and morale.

14. An extended school program—extension of the school day, week, and year, allowing these children more time to compensate for deficiencies.

Parent Education Is Needed

A continuous parent education program, jointly planned by staff members and parents, should be developed. Parents in these communities do not respond readily to parent-school activities although they are interested in their children's education and wish the best for them. Their apparent reluctance may stem from a lack of social skills or a feeling of inadequacy about helping their children achieve academically.

Several techniques which may help to involve parents in the school program are home visits made by teachers to invite each parent to a special program, telephone calls, and follow-up home calls by community leaders. At such programs, parents can be helped to understand how important they are in helping motivate their children to achieve in school. They can assist their children by the following:

1. Providing a quiet period at home each day for reading and other constructive activities.

2. Reading daily to children, including preschool age children.

3. Taking children to the library.
4. Listening to their children read.
5. Buying books for their children.
6. Talking with their children and listening to them.
7. Showing interest in school by asking questions, giving praise and encouragement.
8. Buying games and puzzles and playing with them when possible.
9. Getting children to bed at a reasonable hour.
10. Getting children up with ample time for breakfast, and preparing them for school—checking to see that teeth are cleaned, that hair is combed and brushed, and that face, hands, and clothes are clean.
11. Sending children to school with the attitude that they are going to learn and the teacher is there to help them.

Continuous Evaluation Is Needed

Evaluation improves the quality of the ongoing program because it discloses which procedures and techniques are most effective, and it points up new directions and new areas for emphasis. Evaluation should be continuous and should be instructionally oriented. It has the added benefit of giving encouragement to parents and rewarding staff members.

No single device is adequate for evaluating programs for disadvantaged children. Many techniques should therefore be utilized. Evaluation techniques should include standardized tests and teacher judgment. Intelligence tests should be eliminated unless administered on an individual basis by a diagnostician for special placement of a child. Such tests assume to measure innate ability or potential; but deprived children will earn low scores because of reading, vocabulary, and concept deficiencies, as well as a lack of test-taking sophistication. This situation penalizes these children since many teachers interpret such test results as a predictor of what a child can learn. Such teachers will therefore expect less of children and not challenge them to reach their fullest potential.

Attendance and tardiness records should be analyzed. Health records should be kept and evaluated to determine progress in health protection—immunizations, visual and dental corrections, and medical examination and treatment. Teachers should observe children and keep individual growth charts on work habits, care of materials, personal grooming, teacher-student relationships, and student-student relationships.

The evaluation should reflect the extent to which parents and community residents are involved in the school program. Parents and community residents should also be involved in the evaluation process. This might include informal discussion as well as the questionnaire technique. The evaluation process should be continuous.

The Role of Remedial Services

Good programs for disadvantaged children should begin when the child enters school. This, combined with good preschool programs, should reduce the need for remedial programs in later years. A smaller class size will allow each child more personal attention so that remediation is given on a continuous basis. Mobility and other causal factors will create a need for some special remediation work, however. Early identification of remedial cases should be made, and remediation should begin before children become severely retarded and discouraged.

Special remedial reading and arithmetic teachers should work very closely with regular classroom teachers so that both are simultaneously focusing on the same problem; otherwise, additional problems are created for these children.

Remedial services, though needed, are not the answer. When children are retarded enough to qualify for these programs, their academic self-concepts are already temporarily or permanently damaged. Efforts must therefore be made to prevent retardation. This requires innovation in the day school program—in content, materials, and teaching procedures in all subject areas, from the time these children enter school.

A description of model language arts programs for primary and later elementary children follows.

A Model Primary Language Arts Program

Disadvantaged children who enter school with inadequate language skills which severely retard readiness for reading and subsequent progress need a prolonged and enriched *reading readiness program* to compensate for these deficiencies.

In order to implement this program, interested and colorful "talking" pictures, clipped and filed by instructional center aides, were used to stimulate children's conversation, build a speaking vocabulary, and clarify concepts. Children were taken on trips to see things, places, and events which are common experiences for children in other communities. Field trips were made to the grocery store, drug store, hardware store, library, fire station, farms (fruit, vegetable, animal), and horticultural gardens. In addition, vicarious experiences were provided through materials available in the Instructional Materials Center, such as filmstrips, recordings, mounted pictures, and imitation realia (toy fruits, vegetables, flowers, animals). After each trip, children talked about their experiences to clarify concepts and to enlarge their speaking and listening vocabularies. Since so much of the teacher's spoken language was "foreign" to these children, the teacher utilized techniques commonly employed in teaching children to speak a foreign language. For example, the teacher showed a toy to a child and named the toy, and the child repeated; or the teacher used a new word in a sentence,

and the child repeated the sentence. Materials such as the Peabody Language Development Kit were helpful.

In addition to the typical reading readiness experiences, auditory and visual discrimination training, left-to-right training, "story telling," and reading aloud to develop interest in books, various techniques were utilized to improve skills in which disadvantaged children are especially deficient. This included the skill of listening and the ability to follow direction. Sets of earphones were provided each child and were used with specially prepared tape recordings, records, and radio programs that enhance listening skills. *"Listen and do" materials* helped with the skill of following one, two, and three step directions.

The children had many experiences with books. They were taken to the school library frequently for "story telling," and they listened to stories from an illustrated book at least twice each day. Older children came to their classrooms and read to them when possible, providing a good model for the children. Parents participated in the reading program through a "read-to-me" program at home. Totally illiterate parents encouraged their children to read by holding the book with the child and discussing the pictures with him. These children learned from some "significant others" (parents) that reading was important and therefore developed an interest in learning to read.

The initial reading program utilized children's experiences through pupil-dictated experience stories, in lieu of a basal reader approach. Story books depicting life experiences familiar to the children were also used, such as Follett's City Schools Series, Scott Foresman's Multi-Ethnic Readers, Macmillan's Urban-oriented Readers, and the Chandler Language-experience Readers, In addition to lack of motivation, many reading problems are caused by limited vocabulary and *inability* to use phonics clues to pronounce words. Metal file boxes (recipe boxes) and file cards were provided each primary child to give special help with vocabulary development. This technique enabled each child to keep his own record of words that cause difficulty and to study them at school and at home, thus improving word recognition and word meaning. *Teachers instructed parents to help by flashing the word cards and helping the child follow the study steps outlined:*

1. Look at the word.
2. Say it.
3. Tell what it means.
4. Use it in a sentence.
5. Check his card to see if he has used the word correctly.

Teachers reported that this was one of the most helpful of the reading innovations for these children, whose particular speech patterns caused difficulties with the regular phonics approach to word recognition and whose meaning vocabularies were limited by environment. Children printed their own word cards when able to; otherwise, aides in the Instructional Materials

Center typed or printed them. Stories in typical basal readers lack appeal to disadvantaged children because the illustrations and story content depict life experiences unfamiliar to them. The basal reader approach was therefore eliminated in lieu of multi-level, self-help reading materials which are individualized for students. Science Research Associates reading and listening laboratories were especially desirable. This program was enriched with supplementary materials: library books, literary collections, word games, listening skill building materials, "bookworm" club materials, individual stories constructed by aides from outdated reading booklets (providing students with the satisfaction of reading several "books"), and real-life stories dictated by pupils, typed and duplicated in the Instructional Materials Center and distributed for classroom reading. Another incentive which motivated children to read independently was the monthly award—toy or game—given to the child in each classroom showing the greatest improvement in the library program. These supplementary reading materials met the criteria established for disadvantaged children for several reasons.

1. Illustrations showed pictures of people like themselves.
2. Fictional stories were short and packed with action.
3. Real-life stories depicted experiences familiar to children.
4. Materials were highly illustrative and colorful.

The *spelling, writing, and listening program* included the utilization of self-help materials. Follett's *Spelling and Writing Patterns* and Science Research Associates' Listening Skill Building materials are examples of types used. In addition, children learned to write about their own experiences and to use and to spell vocabulary from all subject areas.

A Model Later Elementary Language Arts Program

The *reading program* based on a basal reader approach was eliminated for several reasons:

1. The content of such books lacks interest because it depicts experiences unfamiliar to these children: book are middle-class oriented.
2. The illustrations show pictures of people unlike themselves.
3. These children, having previously experienced failure, abhor thick hardcovered books which require a semester or a year to complete.

An individualized program consisting of short, exciting stories and self-help oriented materials replaced the basal reader program. Included were such materials as Science Research Associates' Reading Laboratories and Libraries; Macmillan's Reading Spectrum; Scott Foresman's Personal Development materials; and Follett's Beginning-To-Read series; Steck's Animal Stories; The Owl Books by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, the Button and Cowboy Series by Benefic Press; and the Skyline Series by McGraw-Hill.

Basal textbooks in other areas of the language arts program were also

eliminated in lieu of multi-level, self-help type materials such as Science Research Associates' Spelling Laboratories, Follett's Spelling and Writing Patterns, and Science Research Associates' Writing and Listening Skill Building materials.

The reading and language arts program which incorporated the individualized self-help approach aided these children experiencing difficulty in these areas:

1. They accommodate individual differences.
2. They allow each child to begin at a functional level.
3. They provide immediate feedback.
4. They are highly structured and sequential, thereby giving security to children.
5. They keep each child aware of his progress, thus providing immediate reinforcement and gratification.
6. The self-help feature of the materials gives these children self-reliance, self-confidence, and a degree of independence which they otherwise lack.

An extensive library program enriched the reading program. Children visited the library twice weekly to check out books and for "story telling." Parents were encouraged to participate. Fathers provided encouragement by taking turns with library duties as well as by reading to the class during the library period, thus demonstrating to their children, particularly boys, that men value reading. Culturally disadvantaged boys need especially this kind of masculine support since most prodding to read is normally associated with mothers and female teachers, resulting in the idea that boys who take their school work seriously are "sissies."

Library aides and volunteer mothers made single-story reading booklets by cutting up outdated reading books into individual stories and adding covers. Later elementary children, like primary children, found thick hard-covered books difficult to "read for fun," and these children therefore were delighted to discover they could finish a thin booklet and get the added satisfaction of reading several books. *Bookworm* clubs in each classroom encouraged children to read independently, a characteristic of any good reader. Each child was given a bookworm card, containing a sixteen-segment worm. Each placed a bright color sticker on *one segment* upon reading *one book*. When all of the 16 segments were covered, the child was given a "Certificate of Achievement," and a lapel button entitled "I'm a Bookworm." Children also kept a record of books read in their copy of "My Reading Record Booklet." A monthly reward (game, puzzle, toy) was given to the child who had shown the most progress, thus enabling less able readers in the class to compete successfully. The reward was encouragement and the record keeping gave reinforcement because each child could see immediate progress. Both techniques are especially suited to reluctant readers.

Book fairs for children and adults were held periodically. Books were sold at cost and below cost to enable individuals to own books and to

encourage families to build home libraries. One reason disadvantaged children do not value property is that they themselves do not own property. When such a child purchased a book, even at a minimal cost of 5¢, 10¢ or 15¢, and wrote *his* name on the cover page, he gained a feeling of pride, self-worth, and self-esteem far greater than most teachers imagined. Since these children's parents do not take them to the downtown books store to purchase books, the school's program compensated for this deficiency. Mother's clubs under-wrote the cost of this program through bake sales and carnivals.

Disadvantaged children require special help with vocabulary development. This includes both word recognition and word meaning, which is a deficiency of environmental origin. A metal recipe box similar to those used by primary children and index cards were given to each child, thus enabling him to keep his own record of words that caused difficulty in reading and other subject areas, and to study them independently at school and at home. The difficult word was written on ooe side of the card and the definition(s) and its use(s) io a sentence were written on the opposite side. Children and parents were taught the study steps:

1. Look at only one word at a time; think about how it begins and ends.
2. Say it softly; think about how it sounds.
3. Give the meaning(s) in your own words.
4. Use the word in a sentence that makes good sense.
5. Check your card to see that you have given the correct meaning and used it in a sentence.

Parents were taught the study procedure at parent meetings and then helped the children at home by flashing the cards. Teachers reported that this device was one of the most helpful innovations for the children because: (1) Children's vocabularies are limited by environmental conditions, (2) Emphasis on the sight approach to word recognition is helpful because phonics skills are handicapped by cultural speech differences, (3) Children enrich their vocabularies by learning words not only from all subject areas, but also from newspapers, magazines, television and street signs, (4) Children developed the "dictionary habit" which was lacking.

"The Word for the Day" activity consisted of placing a new word each day, printed on cardboard, in a pocket chart set aside for this purpose. Children learned the new word and were encouraged to use it in conversation during that day, thus enriching their speaking vocabularies. Disadvantaged children do not use specific vocabulary to communicate. These children generally use implicit rather than explicit vocabulary; therefore, "hardly any at all" would represent "limited," or "get up the papers" might be said for, "collect the papers." This problem handicaps these children on intelligence tests because the ability to give specific definitions for words enhances one's score on such tests. Disadvantaged children therefore earn a lower score because of their vocabulary deficiency. Easy-to-read dictionaries

were provided for each child, on a long-term loan basis, for home use through the school library. The Thorndike-Barnhart Dictionary was especially desirable because of its simplified vocabulary.

Typewriters utilized for after school enrichment classes were used daily by children in the regular school program. Children typed spelling lists, outlines, vocabulary lists, and helpers' lists. Teachers reported this to be one of the most valuable techniques for motivating children to learn to spell and improve vocabularies. These children learned to type in the after-school typing classes.

The model programs cited above give some suggestions for curriculum innovations to *raise the achievement of children* who are educationally disadvantaged. Experienced teachers will no doubt have many additional ideas for innovations. The important point to be made is that the curriculum should be implemented in the regular school program rather than to rely heavily on remedial programs for these schools.

New Materials Are Needed

Many attempts at curriculum change fail because adequate materials to implement change are not available to teachers in sufficient quantity. This problem has been compounded for disadvantaged children since appropriate materials have not been produced in quantity in the past. Most materials are now becoming available.

Listed below are developmental materials and trade books which have particular appeal to disadvantaged children, and materials with suggestions for parents.

Developmental Materials	*Suggested Level*
—*Reading Round Table*, by American Book Company, Cincinnati, Ohio	primary and up
—Urban Living Series (Social studies)	primary
—Butternut Hill Series	primary
—What Is It Series (Science)	primary
—Cowboy Sam Series (western adventure)	primary and up
—Button Family Series (about a blue collar family), by Benefic Press, Chicago, Illinois	later elementary
—Specific Skill Series, by Barnell Loft, Ltd., Rockville Centre, New York	primary and up
—Chandler Language-Experience Readers	primary
—Chandler Concept Films, by Chandler Publishing Company, San Francisco, California	primary

Developmental Materials	Suggested Level
—Skill Laboratories (study skills), by Educational Development Laboratories, Huntington, New York	later elementary
—City Schools Reading Program	primary
—Spelling and Writing Patterns	primary and up
—Beginning Science Books	primary and up
—Beginning-To-Read Books	primary
—Interesting Reading Series	primary and up
—Just Beginning to Read	pre-primer
—Beginning Social Studies Books	primary and up
—All Star Sports Books, by Follett Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois	later elementary
—Language Kit, by Ginn and Company, Boston, Massachusetts	pre-reading
—The Little Owl Books	grades 1–2
—The Young Owl Books	grades 2–4
—The Wise Owl Books, by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York	grades 4 and up
—Listen and Do Materials, by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Massachusetts	primary
—Bank Street Readers	primary
—Reading Spectrum, by Macmillan Publishing Company, New York	later elementary
—Open Court Readers, by Open Court Publishing Company, LaSalle, Illinois	primary
—Peabody Language Development Kit, by Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee	pre-reading
—Computational Skills Kit	primary and up
—Our Working World (economics)	primary
—Pilot Library	later primary
—Reading and Listening Laboratories	primary and up
—Science Laboratories and Picture Charts	later primary
—Skills Kit (study skills), by Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois	primary
—Multi-Ethnic Readers, by Scott Foresman Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois	primary
—Animal Story Book (controlled vocabulary), by Steck Publishing Company, Austin, Texas	primary and up
—The Skyline Series, by Webster Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Manchester, Ohio	primary and up

Books for Parents

Heimer, Ralph T. and Miriam Newman, *The New Mathematics for Parents.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.

Frank, Mary, and K. Lawrence. *How to Help Your Child in School.* New York: New American Library, 1954.

National School Public Relations Association. *How to Help Your Child Learn.* Washington: National Education Association, 1960.

Van Atta, Frieda E. *How to Help Your Child in Grade School Science.* New York: Random House, 1962.

Smith, Mildred B. *How to Help Your Child with Reading.* Indianapolis: E. C. Seale and Co., 1963.

Books, About Heroes, Today and Yesterday*

Title	Author	Publisher
America: Robert E. Lee	Commager	Houghton Mifflin
America: Abraham Lincoln	McNeer	Houghton Mifflin
Amos Fortune	Yates	Aladdin
Armed with Courage— a collection of biographies	McNeer	Abingdon
Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics	Hirsberg	Messner
Booker T. Washington	Graham	Messner
Bob Cousy	Devaney	Putnam
Breakthrough to the Big League— an autobiography	Jackie Robinson	Harper
Carver's George	Means	Houghton Mifflin
Famous Negro Music Makers	Langston Hughes	Dodd, Mead
Gil Hodges' Story	Shapiro	Messner
Great American Negroes	Richardson	Crowell
Harriet Tubman	Petry	Crowell
John Fitzgerald Kennedy	Martin	Putnam
Martin Luther King	Clayton	Prentice
Meet Abraham Lincoln	Cary	Random
Mickey Mantle of the Yankees	Schoor	Putnam
Ralph J. Bunche	Kugelmoss	Messner
Roy Campanella Story	Shapiro	Putnam
Sandy Koufax, Strikeout King	Hano	Putnam
Story of My Life	Helen Keller	Doubleday
Meet John F. Kennedy	White	Random

* These books may be read to elementary pupils when too difficult for them to read.

Developmental Materials	Suggested Level
—Skill Laboratories (study skills), by Educational Development Laboratories, Huntington, New York	later elementary
—City Schools Reading Program	primary
—Spelling and Writing Patterns	primary and up
—Beginning Science Books	primary and up
—Beginning-To-Read Books	primary
—Interesting Reading Series	primary and up
—Just Beginning to Read	pre-primer
—Beginning Social Studies Books	primary and up
—All Star Sports Books, by Follett Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois	later elementary
—Language Kit, by Ginn and Company, Boston, Massachusetts	pre-reading
—The Little Owl Books	grades 1–2
—The Young Owl Books	grades 2–4
—The Wise Owl Books, by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York	grades 4 and up
—Listen and Do Materials, by Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, Massachusetts	primary
—Bank Street Readers	primary
—Reading Spectrum, by Macmillan Publishing Company, New York	later elementary
—Open Court Readers, by Open Court Publishing Company, LaSalle, Illinois	primary
—Peabody Language Development Kit, by Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee	pre-reading
—Computational Skills Kit	primary and up
—Our Working World (economics)	primary
—Pilot Library	later primary
—Reading and Listening Laboratories	primary and up
—Science Laboratories and Picture Charts	later primary
—Skills Kit (study skills), by Science Research Associates, Chicago, Illinois	primary
—Multi-Ethnic Readers, by Scott Foresman Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois	primary
—Animal Story Book (controlled vocabulary), by Steck Publishing Company, Austin, Texas	primary and up
—The Skyline Series, by Webster Division, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Manchester, Ohio	primary and up

Books for Parents

Heimer, Ralph T. and Miriam Newman, *The New Mathematics for Parents.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.

Frank, Mary, and K. Lawrence. *How to Help Your Child in School.* New York: New American Library, 1954.

National School Public Relations Association. *How to Help Your Child Learn.* Washington: National Education Association, 1960.

Van Atta, Frieda E. *How to Help Your Child in Grade School Science.* New York: Random House, 1962.

Smith, Mildred B. *How to Help Your Child with Reading.* Indianapolis: E. C. Seale and Co., 1963.

Books, About Heroes, Today and Yesterday*

Title	Author	Publisher
America: Robert E. Lee	Commager	Houghton Mifflin
America: Abraham Lincoln	McNeer	Houghton Mifflin
Amos Fortune	Yates	Aladdin
Armed with Courage— a collection of biographies	McNeer	Abingdon
Bill Russell of the Boston Celtics	Hirsbery	Messner
Booker T. Washington	Graham	Messner
Bob Cousy	Devaney	Putnam
Breakthrough to the Big League— an autobiography	Jackie Robinson	Harper
Carver's George	Means	Houghton Mifflin
Famous Negro Music Makers	Langston Hughes	Dodd, Mead
Gil Hodges' Story	Shapiro	Messner
Great American Negroes	Richardson	Crowell
Harriet Tubman	Petry	Crowell
John Fitzgerald Kennedy	Martin	Putnam
Martin Luther King	Clayton	Prentice
Meet Abraham Lincoln	Cary	Random
Mickey Mantle of the Yankees	Schoor	Putnam
Ralph J. Bunche	Kugelmass	Messner
Roy Campanella Story	Shapiro	Putnam
Sandy Koufax, Strikeout King	Hano	Putnam
Story of My Life	Helen Keller	Doubleday
Meet John F. Kennedy	White	Random

* These books may be read to elementary pupils when too difficult for them to read.

Library Books with Urban Settings

Title	Author	Publisher	Level*
ABC of Buses	Shuttleworth	Doubleday	P
All-of-a-Kind Family— Jewish family in New York	Taylor	Follett	LE
All on the Team	Sandmel	Abingdon	LE
A Whistle for Willie— about a brown boy	Keats	Viking	P
Barton Takes the Subway— a Puerto Rican Boy in New York	Brenner	Alfred Knopf	P
Benjie— about a Negro boy	Lexan	Dial Press	P
Burgess Book of Nature Lore— about city children who go to the country	Burgess	Little	LE
Here Comes the Strikeout— city children playing ball in the street	Kessler	Harper	P
Indian Hill— Indian boy who comes off the reservation	Bulla	Cromwell	LE
Ladder to the Sky— about a Negro family	Chandler	Abelard-Schuman	LE
My Dog Rinty— Negro boy	Tarry	Viking Press	P
Roosevelt Grady— Negro migrant family	Shotwell	World Publishing	LE
Tiny Little House—	Clymer	Atheneum	P
Together in America— history of the Negro in this country	Johnston	Dodd, Mead	LE
Soo Ling Finds a Way—	Gehrens	Golden Gate Junior Books	P
Who Will Be My Friends?—	Hoff	Harper and Brothers	P

* Code: P - grades 1-3, LE - grades 4-6.

Trade Books with Rural Settings

Title	Author	Publisher	Level*
ABC of Buses	Shuttleworth	Doubleday	P
Autumn Harvest	Tresselt	Lothrop, Lee, and Shephard	P
Blueberry Pie	Floethe	Scribner	P
Brown Cow Farm	Ipcar	Doubleday	P
Burgess Book of Nature Lore	Burgess	Little	LE
D. J.'s Worst Enemy— setting in rural Georgia	Burch	Viking	LE
Doll for Lily Belle	Snow	Houghton Mifflin	LE
Farmer in the Dell	Hader	Macmillan Company	P
Fly Away Goose	Lasel	Houghton Mifflin	P
I Know a Farm	Collier	Scott, William R.	P
In the Middle of the Night	Fisher	Crowell	P
One Horse Farm	Ipcar	Doubleday	P
Pocketful of Crickets	Caudill	Holt, Rinehart, and Winston	P
Rabbit Hill	Lawson	Viking	LE
Skinny— a setting in rural Georgia	Burch	Viking	LE
Spring Is Like the Morning	Craig	Putnam	P
Sum Up	Tresselt	Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard	P
Wake Up Farm	Tresselt	Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard	P

* Code: P for primary; LE for later elementary.

❄ Teaching Children Who Speak Social Class Dialects

WALTER LOBAN

American *regional accent* rarely causes serious educational or social problems. In every region of this nation, Americans speak with rhythms and intonations that vary from New England to the South to the Far West. Here in Hawaii, where we are convening, educated and cultured people have—as in all other regions—a delightful and special way of speaking standard English. In Georgia, teachers and community leaders speak *their* standard English—like Georgian Southerners. A man can speak with one of the New England accents and become President of the United States. President Kennedy never voiced the R in "Habvahd" but be had no difficulty putting it in "idear." Similarly one can speak with the regional accents of Texas and be elected to the highest office in the land. In any sizable nation, regional variation is inevitable, with syntax or grammar remarkably standard but with pronunciations, rhythms, and subtle idiosyncrasies of usage providing a desirable range of variety.

What does cause problems is *dialect, social class dialect:* Pidgin, Cajun, Appalachian, Ozark, various Negro dialects, the many variations of English usually spoken by poorly educated or culturally different Americans. These dialects differ enough from standard structure and usage to cause problems in communication as well as in social and personal relationships. To deal with such problems in schools requires sound knowledge, humane values, and great delicacy, for nothing less than human dignity and the pupil's self image are at stake.

In the old closed societies of the past, each class spoke differently, and language was one of the most effective means of maintaining the stability, the unchanging nature of those class societies. In Denmark a tart saying illuminates this relation of language to class distinction: "In the old days our Danish nobility spoke French to one another, German to their merchants, and Danish to their dogs." The implications of this saying are not limited to Denmark; we know from history that aristocrats in all nations separated themselves from the masses by means of language. Tolstoi, in *War and Peace*, depicts this same linguistic separation. At the time of Napoleon's invasion, as the Russian people began to unite against the French, the aristocrats at their

soirées began to play "Forfeit, a delightful patriotic game." They reinstated standard Russian *as their means of communication, and* anyone who lapsed into French forfeited some small possession or was punished in some amusing way. Such language separation of the classes was not so much a deliberate plan as it was the natural result of differences in the quality of daily living.

As long as class societies remain stable, the variations in language cause few problems. In fact the language differences support and stabilize class societies. In any kind of society language represents tremendous social power, and the Establishment speaks one kind of dialect, the established standard dialect. For example, until recently the Tyneshire man rising to political position in England has had a language problem. The purely historical accident that Tuscan became standard Italian, rather than Venetian or Sicilian, is an illustration of how standard speech begins as merely another dialect. However, we need to remind ourselves often of the sociological relationship between poverty, with its waste of human potential, and language itself. Closed societies have always used language and education as one means of maintaining the *status quo* and of perpetuating a large class of peons or peasants. In a fluid society like that of the United States, we act to diminish this ancient element of social control, this extraocous determination of individual destiny.

Even in an open society such as ours, however, where *individual worth aod aspiration are intended to count for more than fortunate or unfortunate birth,* language still operates to preserve social class distinctions and remains one of the major barriers to crossing social lines. Jo a free and open society schools should assist all other institutions in making equality of opportunity a reality. To do this teachers need to understand how language and social caste are linked and why many middle-class people naïvely condemn the language of the least favored economic groups. On attitudes concerning language, teachers can learn much from sociology. "We fear lower class speech and are inclined to give it no quarter. The more precarious our social status in the higher classes—that is, the closer we are to the line that divides the middle *from the lower classes or the more recent our ascent from the lower strata*—the more insistent we are on the purity of our linguistic credentials."[1]

Realizing that human worth cannot be measured by the language or dialect a man uses, teachers will be more likely to help children acquire standard English without making them ashamed of their own way of speaking. Such an addition—not "improvement"—of language is much more possible through instruction where drill and directed effort are oral and where they are not separated or long separated *from language* used to express ideas, attitudes, and values of genuine concern to the learners. Not only *different usage but also awareness of situation, of how listeners are helped or hindered* by one's language, proves to be the need of most learners. To achieve language flexibility a pupil must apply whatever is studied to situations in which

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[1] Werner Cohn, "On the Language of Lower Class Children," *School Review*, Winter, 1959, pp. 35–40.

he has something to say, a deep desire to say it, and someone to whom he genuinely wants to say it.

Children need to perfect or acquire the prestige dialect—not because standard English is correct or superior in itself but because society exacts severe penalties from those who do not speak it. Unless they can learn to use standard English, many pupils will be denied access to economic opportunities or entrance to social groups. The leaders of most communities are sensitive to departures from the informal English, the standard, accepted language of their communities. Whether we like it or not, children who speak a social class dialect need the opportunity to learn standard usage if they are ever to be free to choose whether or not they will use it.

One nation so far in history has approached quite closely the elimination of poverty and class differences. This nation, Sweden, is also large enough in population and space to have a history both of regional accents and social class dialects. Today regional accents—such as Skåne (in Southern Sweden), Dalarna (in Central Sweden), and Norrland (in Northern Sweden)—still persist, similarly to our regional accents. But under the leveling influences of education and the highest average standard of living in the world, social class dialects in modern Sweden have rapidly withered. One must talk quite some time to a man to discover his economic condition. His interests and vocabulary will constitute the difference—not his usage or syntax. Thus in Sweden we can see a striking illustration of how language relates to education.

The popular idea of language differences mistakenly sees them in terms of black and white, right or wrong, correct or incorrect. This past summer I read with interest an account of an excellent address given by Hawaii's Lieutenant Governor Thomas P. Gill at the Konawaena High School's commencement exercises. In his address, one newspaper quoted him as follows:

"Language is an expression of culture and often social attitudes. If Pidgin is important to the people of an area, it should not be destroyed, but accepted and supplemented. Of course, we also learn good English so that we are not trapped in one corner of a fluid and changing society."

The lieutenant governor also told the graduates that Kona will not long remain a quiet, remote section of Hawaii. "The flood of tourism which flows across Hawaii today, and in substantial part touches your coast, has still not hit you with the surge you are likely to see tomorrow," he said. "You are still a small and quiet place. Competition is still not keen; you have not yet lost the ability to be personal in your relationships; an individual can still be gauged for what you know him to be. This is good, but it will change. You will be part of the change. We all hope you can be ready. Our attitudes in Hawaii, and here in Kona, will be important to us in the years ahead if we are not to disappear as a people with a character of our own."[2]

Yet almost as soon as the Lieutenant Governor's sensible and restrained remarks appeared in print, opposing voices rose to charge him with condoning

[2] *The Honolulu Advertiser*, August 17, 1967.

sloppy English. Letters to the editor flayed Pidgin as "bad" and "incorrect." Many lay people are indeed sensitive about language and not everyone feels secure enough to view language with true perspective and objectivity.

In a nation where space is shrinking and society is becoming more inter-dependent, certainly the value of a widely used standard language is scarcely arguable. Without adopting condescending attitudes toward class dialects, we ought to be able to help as many children as possible to speak the prestige dialect—standard English. As citizens of Hawaii know, it is entirely possible to speak both standard and Pidgin. Many who use standard English at work lapse back into the intimacy and warmth of Pidgin during coffee breaks and at home. As one young lady on Kaui says, "Using the Island dialect, for me, is like taking off my high-heeled shoes and getting into my comfortable slippers. It's the real me; it's my deepest feeling." Eventually, as social and educational forces continue, their children or grandchildren will more and more speak standard; Pidgin will gradually diminish. Even now Pidgin is changing; the need for it is not urgent as it once was in the nineteenth century when at least eight different nationality groups speaking widely dissimilar languages had to communicate with one another.

Today in an open and heterogeneous society such as ours, what actions are the schools and teachers to take concerning social class dialects? The major course of action seems quite clear. Teachers must proceed on the principle of adding standard English to the dialect of pupils whose speech reflects economic disadvantage. The other alternative, substituting standard English and eliminating the dialect, is neither feasible on sociological grounds nor sensible on psychological grounds. Least of all is it humane. A speaker who is made to feel ashamed of his own language habits suffers a basic injury as a human being. Only an infinitesimally small number of pupils can deny their family and community to the point of *eliminating* their dialect. Although not easy, either, an addition of a second dialect is far more possible in American society, and in education we are developing the means of accomplishing it.

In pre-school, headstart programs, the kindergarten and the earliest years of school, the emphasis should be upon the child's using *whatever dialect of the language he already speaks* as the means of thinking, exploring, and imagining. But language is also more than a tool of thought: it is a way of expressing emotions and feelings, it is a way of adjusting to other people, of expressing solidarity with the human race. *Language has many important functions, but one of the most important we can agree is its use as a means of developing the powers of reason without denying and neglecting the other functions.*

If the kindergarten child who speaks a dialect says, "Them magnets pickin' up them nails," the teacher need not at this point worry about "Them magnets" or the omission of *are.* That usage will not interfere with the crucial cognitive or communicative processes. If we do not first encourage the child to use his own indigenous language in its full range, we will diminish his

desire to use language in school. Therefore, first of all, orally he must develop
and amplify sentences until he is using the full range of his mental, emo-
tional, and linguistic potential. It is much easier for him to achieve such
powers in the dialect he already uses. Nor should anyone worry that he is to
be left to do this forever in school. The strategy is merely that the pre-school
stage and kindergarten are much too early to press him to be concerned about
using standard dialect continuously. Such teaching only confuses small chil-
dren, causing them to speak much less frequently in school. Usually from
grade three and after, the children's daily recitation should adhere to stand-
ard English, but in the early years the teacher would accept "Him a good
dog." At this stage the teacher would be more interested in eliciting from the
child, "Him a good dog *but with three fleas*"; indeed, the teacher would be
very much interested in such qualification and amplification.

However non-standard oral language cannot be left entirely untouched,
even this early. If children do not soon begin to practice all the phonemes in
the English language, eventually *they will find it difficult or almost impossible*
to sound some of the phonemes (as, for instance, English speakers have diffi-
culty with the Spanish "r"). Children who speak a dialect must practice early
the phonemes not in their dialect. Therefore, in the primary grades, in pri-
mary school, teachers should introduce a great many listening experiences for
pupils to imitate and dramatize. These would be taped—short little skits,
riddles, or dialogues, repeated twice on the tape, once in the dialect with
which the child is familiar[2] and once in standard English. The purpose: to
focus the pupil's attention upon *differences* (but not "correct" or "incor-
rect"!); otherwise he will not hear them. To him the phonemes, morphemes,
and usage sound at first just as he always says them; he must be helped to
hear that they are not exactly the same. One of the major tasks of the lin-
guistically trained elementary school teacher is to focus the child's attention
upon the contrasting distinctions presented in these skits which use both the
standard and nonstandard dialects.

Reading is another educational avenue for helping dialect speaking
pupils. Initial reading instruction for these children should utilize the lan-
guage experience approach in which the child dictates his own brief "stories."
Teachers using this method often worry about their procedure when the child
uses dialect. If he says, "Da cah wen heet da dog," the teacher hesitates to
write such Pidgin usage. I recommended that she do so the *first few times* in
order to help the child comprehend a basic concept: that what he can think
and say can also be turned into written symbols. After one or two such dicta-
tions, however, the teacher can say, "Joseph, there is another way to say the
same thing: 'The car hit the dog.' Can you say it *both* ways?" If the child
resists, the teacher quickly says "Well, all right, let's write it *your* way." But
gradually she presses—as rapidly as her sensitive understanding of the child's

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[2] In some city classes—San Francisco, for instance, more than one dialect may exist
and *several* versions, including standard, will be necessary.

readiness and her artistry as a teacher permits—toward what will probably be termed "school language." Always she is exerting a mild pressure toward standard usage, but she is ever ready to relax the pressure if she deems it alienating or upsetting to the child. When the child is willing to try saying something two ways, she compliments him, writes the dictation both ways and requests the child to read it *both* ways, and very soon she has at least accustomed him to the *idea* of "school language." Never, never, does she speak slightingly or reproachingly of "home language" nor in her inmost thoughts does she ever call it substandard, wrong, inconect, or bad. It is merely nonstandard, a valuable human way of *communicating* in its own proper surroundings.[4] On the other hand, she does not dawdle; as rapidly as possible she establishes the concept that there are several useful ways of talking. One of those useful ways is school language, and as soon as possible and as much as possible the child will try to use school language in class. Actually, children accept this concept very quickly and shift almost as easily as American children sojourning in Chile, who use Spanish with their playmates and English with their parents.

Equally important, at this stage, is a method of classroom oral-aural dialogues, built upon linguistic analysis of the major contrasts between the dialect and standard speech. These oral dialogues, exemplified by instruction now being carried on in Hilo and Detroit, deserve our careful attention. These dialogues have built into them the pattern practice of the oral-aural methodology of modern foreign language instruction.

At Keaukaha Elementary School in Hilo, where I am familiar with the procedures, the lessons are composed of riddles, short dialogues, narratives, or poems for memorization.[5] Various drills, guided conversations or games follow each dialogue in order to give the pupils practice with the new material in *varied* situations. Visual aids, puppets, and role playing are devices used to hold interest and facilitate practice.

In Hilo, goals chosen for inclusion in each lesson are embedded in content interesting to children. Some lessons are based on children's interests or compelling aspects of another part of the curriculum. The lessons also use children's literature, children's poetry, and books of riddles. In sequence, the dialogues usually proceed as follows:

Children listen to the teacher's model, that is, she reads the dialogue in lively fashion.

Children imitate and practice the teacher's model, first in unison, then individually.

The teacher listens and makes judgments about the accuracy of the child's production.

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[4] At one time, as Richard Foster Jones shows in *The Triumph of the English Language,* Stanford University Press, 1966, all English was regarded as a vulgar, inferior tongue incapable of sufficient development for use in the arts, law, or civilized society.

[5] Whenever necessary these are preceded by stage-setting comments from the teacher Many, but not all, lessons are supplemented with pattern drills.

The teacher may alter the child's imitation at the time, not with a negative reprimand, but always with two or three more repetitions as models to imitate. The teacher maintains a smiling, pleasant manner throughout.

The teacher may choose to overlook the child's nonstandard imitation at the time, and focus on it again in the next exercise, the next day, or later.

For instance, one dialogue that interested the third-grade children at Keaukaha—one they recited with genuine zest—dealt with summer safety. Mrs. Anna Chow's class was in session just a few weeks before the close of school. The lesson focused on gerund phrases, a structure of language not used in Pidgin.

VACATION SAFETY

MRS. CHOW: Summer vacation is a happy time for us all. We have more time to do the things we enjoy doing: swimming, camping, boating, or whatever. It can also be an unhappy time if we aren't careful. Now, here are two boys talking about vacation.

DIALOGUE

GEORGE: School's almost over this year.

ROBERT: Yes, and I like the summer vacation. I can go swimming every day with my friends.

GEORGE: Does your Mother let you swim all by yourself?

ROBERT: No, I can't go swimming unless my older brother's there.

GEORGE: I'm going to ride my bicycle every day this summer.

ROBERT: Me, too. It's fun!

GEORGE: Right! But we should be careful about riding in traffic.

The children then imitated the dialogue, first in groups, then as individuals. Mrs. Chow sometimes repeated a line or word, reinforcing the model when necessary.

Group I	Group II
We should be careful about riding in traffic.	That's right. Riding in traffic is dangerous.
swimming alone.	etc.
climbing trees.	etc.
hiking alone.	etc.
petting strange dogs.	etc.
playing with fire.	etc.

At the close of the dialogue and the exercises, Mrs. Chow moved to a very important step, transfer of the learning. She said, "Very good! Very good! Now, what else can we think of that we must be careful not to do if we want a happy vacation?" Eager hands moved to add new, original ideas:

We must be careful about swimming near vanua.[6]
We must be careful about eating too many macadamia nuts.
We must be careful about walking under mango trees with ripe fruit.

The exercise had been transferred to a functional creative phase. The new language seeds had been planted and were germinating.

In Detroit, although I have not observed their work, Ruth Golden and Robert L. Donald have moved in a similar oral-aural direction. To reach (as is desperately needed) large numbers of teachers and children, they have placed lessons-for-imitation on tapes.

The problems of dialect, we should realize, require sustained, cumulative instruction, and cannot be completed in the primary grades. Therefore, during grades four, five, and six, teachers should introduce a range of English in different dialects so pupils become accustomed to the fact of many dialects. Children imitate skillfully; this is why they pick up foreign languages so quickly. These pupils in the middle grades should listen to Scotch, Australian, and Appalachian dialects, to Pidgin, to Cajun, to the Beatles' Liverpoolese. They should sing songs, recite rhymes, and engage in choral speaking in their own dialect and in the standard dialect, trying also to become somewhat flexible, imitating all the dialects presented, producing a range of sounds.

In grades four, five, and six, then, there would be an emphasis upon imitation and upon playing out short skits, reading plays aloud and improvising in creative dramatics. Drama is thus particularly important in the theory of this articulated, sequential program. Often the drama would require puppets because many children readily identify with puppets. Simple hand puppets presented on a stage made from grocery cardboard boxes provide an incentive for children to write their own brief skits. Then they practice them, standing securely concealed behind the stage. Throughout all this they would be imitating different dialects, but *always with an increasing emphasis on the established standard English*—one more tongue to imitate in the same way that Scotch, Pidgin or other dialects are imitated.

Never at any time throughout this elementary school period would the teacher indicate to the child that there is the slightest thing wrong with his dialect, because the teacher would not, in his own heart, believe this. We need teachers who know that such dialects are essentially respectable and good, although the teachers would realize these children must also learn the dialect accepted by convention. Thus there should never be any invidious comparisons, any criticism, at the pre-school and primary school stage of the child's education.

However, before language habits become inflexible, teachers should begin to work on some of the more crucial items of usage by means of oral training as in Hilo and Detroit. This would involve emphasis on usage *through the ear*. If "Him a good dog" exemplifies a crucial usage for a class of Negro pupils, the teacher begins to identify "He is a good dog," and drills

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[6] Standard (Hawaiian) English for sea urchins armed with dangerous spikes.

orally on case of pronouns—but does not employ grammatical analysis. Sometimes the teacher reads ten sentences aloud, explaining first which is standard dialect and which is not. The children listen to hear whether or not the teacher expresses the point at issue in established dialect or in non-standard. Often the pupils would number from one to ten on a sheet and write an S (for standard if the teacher uses an expression appropriately) and NS (if the expression is nonstandard). The teacher would begin, "Listen for the sentences I read in standard and the ones in nonstandard": (1) He is a good dog. (2) She is my friend. (3) Him a happy fellow," and so forth up to 10, the pupils listening and repeating. Such oral-aural drill can be placed on tapes also and used in language laboratories or, more humbly, in one corner of the room while other pupils work with the teacher.

Eventually the time comes when the teacher must talk over with these pupils the facts of social language discrimination, and that time, to my way of thinking, usually is grade five, six, or seven. Teachers differ on the ideal age for introducing the concept, but I see no point in telling children this earlier. Before they can really see the value of learning standard English, pupils need to understand the social consequences the world will exact of them if they cannot handle the established dialect. Grade five, six, or seven, therefore, would be the point at which the concept would be discussed although parts of the total concept might be sketched in earlier as answers to questions children ask. At this upper grade level I would select most carefully teachers who had no snobbish attitudes about language, the scholar-linguist-humanists whom the school could most safely entrust with the important task of explaining sociological truth to these children, aged 11 and 12. "Although the language your parents use is a perfectly good language and we have used it in this class, it is not the only way of speaking English. Have you ever noticed that the textbooks are printed in only one of the English dialects we have heard? The day we went down to visit the juvenile court, the judges and lawyers all talked that standard language. When we had that speaker in assembly the other day and she told us about her work as a judge in the courts, even though she belongs to our same ethnic group, she was using the standard English dialect you hear television announcers use. Now, here is something you need to know. Many business and professional people and many people who hire teachers, architects, clerks, and stenographers just will not hire or encourage people who do not speak the standard dialect. And so, we must begin to speak this special standard way even better than we have so far. We'll have to work on it much more, and I'll help you." Then from grades five through twelve the teacher and pupils would avoid as far as possible the use of social class dialect in *school*. The aim in school during these secondary years would be to help young people acquire this very important kind of dialect, this second language they need. Much of this would require oral-aural pattern practice with taped exercises.

In acquiring the standard dialect, pupils should continue to amplify, embroider, and extend sentences. Thus, they should begin in grades four, five,

❁ A Model for Teaching Standard English to Non-Standard English Speakers[1,2]

MILDRED R. GLADNEY AND LLOYD LEAVERTON

Purpose

For some time, we have been interested in the dialect of the Afro-American child of a low socio-economic status and the part it plays in the difficulty of the children in learning the language arts subjects as taught in our public schools.

For instance, the dialect has been used to suggest, at least in some of the literature, that the children are verbally retarded.

Our experience with the children and the comments we have received from their teachers lead us to conclude that this description is not representative of a large number of the children in low income ghetto schools. However, the non-standard dialect is considered a serious problem by their teachers, who work tirelessly, if unsuccessfully, to change it using such methods as constant correction, providing a model of standard English and following the various speech activities suggested in many language arts manuals and supplements.

Part of our difficulty as educators in effectively coping with this problem of teaching the standard dialect has been a failure to recognize that the child's dialect contains a definite structure and organization and is resistant to change. This was clearly demonstrated to us as a result of an investigation we conducted in one of the special summer schools in Chicago in 1965. We tape recorded conversations with entering kindergarten children and with children who had completed the third grade. The third graders were reading at or above grade level and had obviously been exposed to standard speech usage as it appeared in their reading material for at least three years. Their teachers, also, no doubt, had provided a model of standard English usage in their communication with the children throughout each school day. In spite of these exposures to standard English, the children's oral speech contained most of the major differences from standard English that we found in the speech of the kindergarten children.

Developments of Materials

While searching for ideas for a language arts program that would be effective for children who used their language fully and well to communicate with the adults and other children in their community and with many of their teachers but who used nonstandard patterns, we formulated three conditions upon which to base our model as an approach to this problem.

First, we must start at a point meaningful to the learner. Translated to the area of oral speech, this suggested to us that the learning sequence in teaching standard speech patterns should start with an actual statement made by the child.

Second, in utilizing the different patterns of the non-standard dialect, preference should be given to that speech pattern that permits the transition from the child's dialect to the standard dialect by adding to the child's dialect. For example, "My mama pretty," can be restated in standard English by adding is—"My mama is pretty." One exception to this is the unique use, "I don't like cake when it be frozen." Here, a complete substitution of verbs is necessary, "I don't like cake when it is frozen."

Third, we felt it essential to focus on one pattern at a time and to proceed systematically in accordance with linguistic principles. This condition we felt was crucial in view of the influence it exerts on the behavior of the classroom teacher. By focusing on one pattern at a time only the verb form relative to the specific pattern is brought to the child's attention as everyday talk and immediately followed by the presentation of the school talk form to the child. The other speech patterns characteristic of the dialect with respect to verb form are permitted in the classroom without comments until the particular verb form is encountered in the sequence of the materials. Such systemization is also imperative to avoid the creation of errors which did not originally exist. For example, introduction of the use of is in simple statements must be closely followed by the introduction of am and are so that the child will not begin to use forms such as "I is," "you is," and "they is."

In addition to the tape recorded conversations mentioned previously, we had also taped conversations with kindergarten, first, second and third grade Afro-American students in a school in a different low income ghetto area in June of 1965. All of the conversations were analyzed and four striking differences in verb usage were identified as the focal point of our proposed program of instruction.

They are

a The verbs is and are are omitted:.
   (1) In simple sentences. e.g.
      He my friend.
   (2) In sentences using the present participle form. e.g.
      They playing house.

(3) In sentences expressing the future using the verb go. i.e.

> She gon be a nurse when she grow up.

b One verb form is used for all subjects in the present tense, i.e.

> Chocolate milk look good.
> The baby look like he do.
> That boy have a piece of bread.

c One verb form is used for all subjects in the past tense, i.e.

> We was hungry.
> Somebody knock that down.
> Yesterday I write my name.

d Be is used in place of is, am and are and in sentences describing a recurring event. i.e.

> When my mama be gone, I take care of the babies.
> Sometimes he be riding in the alley.
> I be scared when it be thundering.

The instructional sequence of our program begins with the teaching of Rhymed Pattern Practices developed by Mr. Melvin Hoffman, consulting linguist to the project. These rhymed verses are intended to provide a model of standard English usage (possibly at a preconscious level).

These practices are then followed by activities developed by the authors and Mrs. John Patterson, a project staff teacher, and designed to help the child make the transition at a conscious level from his established dialect form to the corresponding standard dialect form.

The teacher tells a story or asks a question which will elicit from the children their speech patterns in the verb area being studied. The children's statement is nonstandard and standard forms are recorded on chalkboard or paper. For example, some of the sentences given by the children in a conversation about their friends or classmates during a lesson on the use of is in simple sentence were:

> Terry he bad in school.
> Deborah my friend.
> Michael is strong.
> Gregory brown just like me.

The teacher then describes each sentence as EVERYDAY TALK or SCHOOL TALK pointing out to the children that the sentences that omit is are EVERYDAY TALK and the sentences that include is may be EVERYDAY TALK and definitely are SCHOOL TALK. The teacher discusses SCHOOL TALK and EVERYDAY TALK as different ways of expressing ideas, neither one "wrong" or "right" but used in different situations, that is, in school, out of school.

After the activities stemming from the children's own statements are concluded, pre-written sentences and stories in EVERYDAY TALK and

dialogues in SCHOOL TALK which include the verbs being studied are given to the children for practice in changing the non-standard dialect to the standard dialect in orally spoken sentences.

The sequence of the verb pattern introduced is as follows:

Unit 1—am, is, are
Unit 2—was, were
Unit 3—"s," "es"
Unit 4—do, does
Unit 5—say, says
Unit 6—have, has
Unit 7—"ed"
Unit 8—be

Collection of Data

At the initial stage of the development of the program, considering the ingrained nature of the children's dialect, we did not expect that they would adopt the standard dialect in even the minority of instances in their informal talk after just a year's time. However, we hoped that the children would be able to respond in the standard dialect or SCHOOL TALK if asked to do so at the beginning of an informal conversation.

Therefore, it was determined that the appropriate evaluation at the end of the school year would consist of comparing the SCHOOL TALK conversation of the experimental group with the oral speech of similar children, with respect to age, grade, I.Q., and socio-economic status who had been given the traditional speech lessons.

Two classes were selected from neighboring schools to serve as the control groups. Samples of spontaneous speech were obtained in June, 1966 from both the experimental and control groups in a series of small group sessions consisting of approximately 5 to 6 students. Each session was tape recorded. The sessions were initiated by asking the children how they planned to spend their time during the summer vacation. Two other questions served as stimuli.

1. What would you like to be when you grow up?
2. If, you had $100 to spend all by yourself, what would you buy?

The tape recordings were then analyzed with respect to the extent of correspondence to standard English or to non-standard English when any one of the verb forms comprising the experimental treatment occurred in their speech. For example, the statement, "When it be hot, we go to the beach everyday," was counted as corresponding to the non-standard dialect; whereas the statement, "When it is hot, we go to the beach everyday," was counted as corresponding to standard English. A count was made for each

child as how many times his speech corresponded to the non-standard dialect or standard dialect with respect to each verb form included in the experimental material.

Analysis of Data

These data contained some characteristics that should be discussed before presenting the findings. In the first place, some children used a particular verb far more frequently than did others. For example, the verb form "I be" occurred as many as fifteen times with some children and as few as two times with other children. However, if the latter children used the non-standard form "I be" only two times and did not use the corresponding standard form at all, one could not conclude that they utilized the dialect form less than the children who used the form "I be" fifteen times. Conversely, if other children used the standard English form "I am" ten times and the form "I be" did not occur in their speech at all, one could not conclude they had mastered standard English usage more than the children who used "I am" two times, but also did not use "I be" at all.

In view of these considerations a non-parametric technique seemed most appropriate to test the significance of the differences between the experimental and control groups. Each child was therefore rated as a plus or minus with respect to standard English usage for each of six verb forms. The X^2 test was then used to determine the significance of the differences between the groups.

Results

Although each teacher utilized the Language Arts Curriculum Guide prepared by the Department of Curriculum Development and Teaching of the Chicago Board of Education, it is highly probable, we felt, that the language arts activities relative to oral language of the two control groups may have varied because of the teacher variable. Hence, it was anticipated that the two control groups might show some differences in their speech because of this variable. Therefore, the experimental group was compared separately with each control group. The findings of these comparisons are given in tables I and II.

It is interesting to note that the significant differences between the experimental group and both control groups were with respect to the same two verb forms i.e., the Conditional with *Be* form and the Regular Present (inclusion of "s" to verb). The findings with respect to the other verb forms showed positive trends favoring the experimental group but were not statistically significant. However, when the two control groups are combined and compared with the experimental groups as shown in table III, the trends are more apparent.

Extensive investigations are needed to determine why the experimental

treatment appeared more effective with some verb forms than with the others.

The model encourages the teacher to respect and accept the children's established dialect and at the same time provides a framework to help the children recognize, learn, and hopefully begin to use standard English.

TABLE I

Psycholinguistics Experimental Project

Number of Children in Experimental Group Compared with Children in Control Group I Whose Informal Speech Corresponds to Standard English Usage with Respect to Six Verb Forms

	Experimental Group		Control Group I			
Variable	Standard English	Non Standard Dialect	Standard English	Non Standard Dialect	X^2	P
Be Present (omission of am, is, are)	33	1	32	7	3.27	<.10
Irregular Present (have-has do-does say-says)	5	3	5	12	1.29	<.30
Regular Present (work-works)	6	5	3	20	4.62	<.05
Irregular Past (write-wrote)	16	0	18	4	1.60	<.30
Regular Past (work-worked)	5	0	10	5	.80	—
Conditional With Be (if I be)	19	1	6	28	27.27	<.001

TABLE II

Psycholinguistics Experimental Project

Number of Children in Experimental Group Compared with Children in Control Group II Whose Informal Speech Corresponds to Standard English Usage with Respect to Six Verb Forms

	Experimental Group		Control Group II			
Variable	Standard English	Non Standard Dialect	Standard English	Non Standard Dialect	X^2	P
Be Present (omission of am, is, are)	33	1	20	3	1.23	<.30
Irregular Present (have-has do-does say-says)	5	3	2	7	1.41	<.30
Regular Present (work-works)	6	5	2	11	4.56	<.05
Irregular Past (write-wrote)	16	0	2	1	—	—
Regular Past (work-worked)	5	0	4	1	—	—
Conditional With Be (if I be)	19	1	5	24	25.61	<.001

TABLE III

Psycholinguistics Experimental Project

Number of Children in Experimental Group Compared with Children in Control Groups I and II Whose Informal Speech Corresponds to Standard Usage with Respect to Six Verb Forms

Variable	Experimental Group		Combined Control Groups I and II		X^2	P
	Standard English	Non Standard Dialect	Standard English	Non Standard Dialect		
Be Present (omission of am, is, are)	33	1	52	10	2.58	<.20
Irregular Present (have-has do-does say-says)	5	3	7	19	2.01	<.20
Regular Present (work-works)	6	5	5	31	5.63	<.02
Irregular Past (write-wrote)	16	0	20	5	2.03	<.20
Regular Past (work-worked)	5	0	14	6	—	—
Conditional With Be (if I be)	19	1	11	52	36.14	<.001

⚙ Helping the Disadvantaged Build Language

THEDA M. WILSON

An ever increasing number of sensitive, creative teachers are making it possible for children to "hear" their own language and to acquire growing facility in the use of more acceptable speech forms in varying social situations. Many children are learning to speak with ease the language that is common usage—to use it at home or with friends at play, as well as in the academic setting of the school. Many are even learning to respond correctly to requests which are expressed in language forms they do not commonly use.

A somewhat unorthodox method of alerting children to their speech errors was employed with success by a sixth grade teacher who had an established reputation for good human relations in her classroom. She spent a great deal of time doing things *with* the children and used many open-ended questions designed to discover their attitudes and feelings about school and community. At first she did nothing about the grammatical errors in their speaking and writing. Her first goal was to free the children to examine their attitudes and to express them. She also wanted to have an opportunity to identify the major common errors of speech.

After school had been in session about two months, she told them that she was distressed by some simple speech errors that they kept making. She wrote on the board:

"double negatives"
"double subjects" (noun followed by pronoun)
"was for were"
"missing endings"

She asked if any of the children had noticed these common errors, and *some admitted they had.*

After some discussion of ways by which children who made some of these mistakes could be reminded to correct them, it was agreed that the teacher and those in the class who also heard the error would cover both ears and make momentary faces of pain—as if the errors were painful to hear. At that signal, the speaker would correct the error and continue the thought.

The entire reading is played back while the children follow the story in their books. If all are pleased, the story may be played for the entire class to enjoy at a later time.

One class enjoyed a story so much that they wrote a letter to the music teacher asking her if she could suggest some background music to be played. She suggested something that they thought was just right, and new avenues of appreciation were opened for the children.

Teachers who try to improve the listening, speaking, reading, and writing of children whose culture is different from theirs often find the children seldom volunteering information or opinions because of their limited experiential backgrounds. These teachers must develop language arts programs that reflect insight into the language, psychological, and social needs of the children. In the development of these programs, good human relations must exist between children and teachers.

It is a commonly accepted fact that children need many firsthand *experiences in order to grow in vocabulary and to gain more fluency* in expression. Experience stories develop from experiences. Many teachers attest to their success in motivating children to read by using the language experience approach. This method has been particularly effective with reluctant readers—especially older ones.

A first grade teacher was discouraged by her lack of success in reaching a group of eight boys, six of whom were "repeating" the first grade. She tried every approach she had ever used with success in prior years. None worked. She even spent her own money on a highly structured new teaching program and found she couldn't keep the attention of the group long enough to use the program effectively.

She discussed the program with the principal who had seen other teachers achieve success by using the children's own words to make up their first reading booklets. When this idea was suggested, the teacher agreed to try it. She had many reservations but went ahead just the same.

The first efforts were group stories based on some experiences the children had just had. Since talking precedes writing, she talked with the children, and she encouraged them to talk. As new ideas were expressed, she wrote them quickly in a notebook with the child's name. These were reviewed the next day as the discussion continued.

She told the children she was going to put their words on large chart paper in a book. They decided to call their book "Our Big Story Book." As the children talked, she wrote their words on the chart paper, saying them as she wrote. The magic was at work. Soon her problem was to help them to end stories. They became longer and longer as the children's enthusiasm grew.

She was fascinated as she watched them grow from identifying their individual contributions to reading the entire story to reading the entire book.

Individual story booklets were made. The titles were childlike and as

interesting as the content: "The Cat Who Wanted to Sing" (group effort), "Brownie," "Spot," "The Rabbit Who Wanted a House," "The Boy Who Wanted a Pet," "The Ball," "The Puppy Who Wanted to Be Big."

These were the most popular books in the room. Every child in the group learned to read them before *going on* to the first pre-primer. The words in the pre-primer were so familiar that the first one became a supplementary reader as the group went to the second and third.

Fighting and name-calling are problems in areas where children and adults are not articulate enough to be able to discuss differences of opinion and to reconcile them. A principal helped some children to make words work for them by keeping a small tape recorder on her desk. When children were sent to her office because of fighting, they followed a simple formula:

1. Tell exactly what you did even if you feel it was wrong.
2. Tell what you might have done differently.
3. Decide what you are going to do about it.

As the children talked, she recorded each version, and if they came to no agreement on what could be done about the dispute, she played the tape for them to hear each account. The play-back always had a profound effect. When children had to listen and were not grouping words, they found it easier to solve their problems.

She noticed that these phrases were generally used as children told what happened:

"talking about my mother"
"got all big and bad"
"got up in my face"
"get off my back"
"flipped me"
"rooted me"

The principal helped the children to see that these phrases did not specify what had happened, and the children were encouraged to be more specific. They learned to tell events in sequence. The principal learned that what are common to certain groups are common in general only. In communicating with people, one must understand the implications of what is said as well as what is meant.

Vocabulary building goes on constantly as teachers chart key words for children, promote dictionary skills, utilize the resources of the special teacher, tell stories and have children re-tell them, use jokes, riddles, conversation, discussion, telephoning, reading and poetry.

Two effective media for promoting vocabulary growth and fluency of expression have been 1) the intercom for students to give the daily news and special announcements and 2) the Storytellers Club where children learn how to tell stories.

When using the intercom, children learned to listen to one another as

they took turns giving the daily news reports. They also learned how to write to get attention and the importance of saying things in a variety of ways in order to keep attention. They grew in confidence and prestige when they identified themselves as the announcers.

The children selected the announcers and showed astuteness in their selections. They did not only select the good readers; they selected the children who needed recognition. When selections were made this way, the need to excel was important. Some children memorized their scripts by studying them with the family at night. Others asked parents to come to school to listen to them as they made the announcements.

The Storytellers Club met weekly with its membership drawn from grades three through six. It started quite simply. For the children its major goal was to tell stories to children in kindergarten and first grade. For the teachers, the goals were to:

1. Encourage reluctant readers by having them read simple material with no stigma attached.
2. Get more inflection in children's voices.
3. Promote vocabulary.
4. Develop thinking.

In an environment where relationships are good, deprived children seem to say by their actions, "I don't understand everything my teacher says, but I like her and I am trying to talk like her and to do the right things." Doing the right thing is important to children from the least favored neighborhoods. They usually like their teachers very much and want to please them. Teachers have strong influences on attitudes and behavior as well as on the acquisition of skills and the development of concepts.

Knowledge of the structural parts of the English language (parts of speech, kinds of sentences, etc.) is not essential in the elementary school, and there certainly is little evidence to indicate that such knowledge improves the grammar or usage of children whose language background is poor.

Successful changes in language patterns are being made by teachers who:

1. Set good examples in their own oral expressions, since children tend to imitate adults.
2. Realize that the cultural setting of the home has a definite influence on the language skills of children. Changes will be made more slowly when children have regular contact with teachers, parents, and playmates who express themselves understandably in more than one idiom. These children find it more difficult to recognize "good English" and "bad English."
3. Provide many opportunities for oral expression in order to develop aural consciousness of forms and construction. Children need much practice in using preferred forms in regular class activities as well as in controlled practice.

4. Emphasize what the child says rather than how he says it. We are dealing with thinking when we deal with language. More acceptable expressions can be emphasized at another time when a child is not developing a thought.

5. Help vocabulary and fluency to develop by providing many first-hand as well as vicarious experiences. Words and expressions that children repeat do not always have correct meaning for them.

6. Encourage children to convey feelings and ideas through their own original efforts, especially through the media of letter writing, diaries, and short stories. This will bring increasing satisfaction as the gap is narrowed between their speaking and writing vocabularies and between their oral structure and skill in manipulating words and structures in writing.

In the exciting, interesting, accepting climate of the classrooms of sensitive and creative teachers, children who come from disadvantaged backgrounds search for meanings and find opportunities to imagine, to exchange ideas, to think, to discover, and to create. As they listen, speak, read, and write, they develop their own individualities and form the basic foundations for their futures.

They have inherited the right to express themselves. They are becoming free to do that with clarity and with confidence.

⚙ Once Upon a Time

FRED STOFFEL

Christine Holston is a volcano. She bubbles. She erupts. Her face, her hands, her whole body are in constant motion. They inform. They deepen the meanings of the words that well from her, sharpen their imagery, and brighten their color.

Miss Holston is as much a performer as she is a teacher—and she needs to be. For her children get information from her actions that they don't get from her words, carefully enunciated and grammatically strung out as they are. The reason is that the children do not speak standard English and consequently do not completely understand it. Their speech is a soft, slurry dialect which is quite different from what we usually consider to be classroom English.

As a specialist in communications Christine Holston works in a Washington, D.C., public school where language has been cited as a major problem. There are 21 language arts specialists in Washington who cover 23 schools enrolling nearly 12,000 children. If there were more of these specialists about 80 of Washington's 140 elementary schools could profitably use their services.

The Language Arts Program, under which these specialized teachers are employed, was first put into effect in 1961 and has been on a kind of pilot basis ever since. It was originally designed to expand and intensify the experiences of children who all too often did not talk much in school because they thought they had little or nothing to talk about. It was also supposed to correct the children's speech for deviations from standard English, which almost everyone thinks he can recognize but which few care to define. Finally, it was to expand the vocabulary of children from the limitations often imposed on them through lack of contact with a wide variety of words.

Wouldn't it be great, the reasoning went, if special teachers could serve children from kindergarten through third grade, concentrating on improving speech? The classroom teacher has so much to worry about already that a specialist in language arts—listening, talking, reading, writing —would make everyone's job easier and, more importantly, provide a better education for the boys and girls.

With money from the Ford Foundation the program was launched. By the end of the 1963–64 school year it had grown to encompass 14 elementary schools. Then the Board of Education took over financing and, in the fall of 1966 with the help of funds from title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, expanded the program to its present level.

This year the District of Columbia school board is providing $175,000 for operation of the program. The U.S. Office of Education is providing $36,000. The bulk of the money is used for salaries. Some of it goes for equipment—each language arts teacher has a tape recorder, overhead projector, filmstrips and projector, puppets and puppet stage, flannelboard, records, and creative toys. The rest of the money is spent to take the children to plays or movies, to the museum or art gallery—even to buy pets for the classroom.

A teacher may spend up to half an hour per session with each of her classes. In some small schools she can see the children a couple of times each week and sandwich in a special literature day besides. More often she must hustle to visit each class once a week.

Initially the problem is getting children to talk in school. "We get so many youngsters in kindergarten who are unwilling to communicate," says Louis H. Kornhauser, director of the Language Arts Program. "Our main responsibility is to help the classroom teacher free these children so that they are willing to talk and have something to talk about. It's a question of saturating them with creative play, puppetry, field trips—any stimulating experience that will start them talking."

Miss Holston gets a little more emotional:

The children have a very limited language habit, a very limited speaking habit, because they don't go anyplace. Their families don't have the money or the time to take them anyplace. Well, the language arts teachers will take them so they'll have something to talk about.

I come from Washington and have lived here all my life. I know many of the parents because we went to school together. I do a lot of community work and get around. I'm from the same kind of background many of these kids are from, and I know their problems.

There isn't enough language in the home because some of the parents are poorly educated themselves and have very little to give the children. Some of them feel language teaching is totally the responsibility of the schools. When the children come home from school and put down their books, the mother says, "Go outside. I don't want you messing up this house. I've had to clean all day, and I don't want your fingerprints on the walls and your footprints on the floors. Go outside and play."

So they go outside. There's no family unity. There's no time when everybody sits around the table and talks to one another about things that have gone on at school or at Daddy's job or at home today.

And Kornhauser adds: "Parents will send children to school with a comment like 'You go to school and behave yourself and keep quiet.' The

kids take their parents literally. They go to school and they don't talk."

But that's only the start.

"I have so many children who come from homes where parents never pick up a book and *read them a story*," Miss Holston explains. "They don't know what a fairy tale is or a bedtime story. Last year we read and dramatized stories and looked at filmstrips of stories. We'd even bring in reproductions of paintings and statuettes and sculpture from the art gallery. And the children loved it."

These experiences all provide pegs for language development. They provide things to talk about and things to sense without language.

Miss Holston again:

There are other ways to communicate than just through language. We try to give children an idea of this, an idea of how they can feel things. We go in with these wild dramatizations. We take the furniture, and this table is the mountain and this child is the dragon, and he has to sound like the dragon and move like the dragon and *really be* the dragon.

Some people may just read the story and that's the end of it. But we want to involve the child totally so he'll use all of his senses to interpret the story— not just the ears to hear, the eyes to see, but the other senses to feel the story, to taste the story.

Watch her in action.

In a kindergarten room Miss Holston stands before a little cart on which she trundles her equipment from classroom to classroom. Seated on the floor in front of her are about 35 children.

"Who knows 'Little Miss Muffet'? All right. Let's see how well we know it. 'Little Miss Muffet/sat on a tuffet,/eating her curds and whey./ Along came a spider/and sat down beside her/and frightened Miss Muffet away.' Good. Now, who knows what a tuffet is? Yes? All right. It's a place to sit, like a stool. And what is curds and whey? Yes? Something to eat. Have any of you eaten curds and whey?"

A few hands inch hesitantly upward.

"You have! When did you eat it?"

A boy says: "I had . . . I ate fo' brekfuss."

"You ate some for breakfast." She pronounces each word carefully. "Well, I suppose you could eat curds and whey for breakfast. But we call it something else today. Anybody know what curds and whey is called today? Nobody knows? Cottage cheese. I'm sure you've all had cottage cheese, maybe even for breakfast. But to make sure you all know what curds and whey is, I've brought some along for each of you."

From her cart she produces napkins, plastic spoons, and cottage cheese in paper cups. As the children take seats around the tables, Miss Holston and a number of assistants chosen from the class serve the others. And language flies all around.

"Do you like the taste of it, Charles? What are the clumps in the

cottage cheese called? Susan, what does the cottage cheese feel like on your tongue?"

Each question provokes an answer—sometimes several different answers at one time. And each answer may lead to a further question in the continuing exchange between teacher and students.

When the cottage cheese is all gone, the children return to their seats on the floor.

"Now let's go through 'Little Miss Muffet' again, and this time we'll act out the parts," says Miss Holston. "Who wants to be Miss Muffet? All right, Linda. And you can just pretend to be eating this time. Now, we need somebody to take the part of the spider."

She reaches into her cart and pulls out a cardboard cutout of a black spider with a 10-inch body and articulated, dangling arms.

"Jim. All right, you're the spider." And she hangs the spider on a string around his neck. "Now let's go through the poem again while Linda and Jim act out the parts.

"Along came a spider"—Jim leaps forward, head and hands waggling ferociously—"and frightened Miss Muffet away"—Linda slips off the chair with a small scream.

"Did the spider really mean to frighten Miss Muffet away? Or did he just want to eat some of her curds and whey?" Five minutes later, after a lively discussion, the kindergarten session ends with a song.

Miss Holston pushes her cart across the hall into the first-grade room, where she sets up a flannelboard on top of her cart. "Once upon a time," she begins, "there was a little old lady. . . ."

The "little old lady story" is actually a language drill. It teaches the pronunciation of *t* and *d* as separate sounds which are frequently confused by urban children. It teaches the use of the articles *a* and *an* which are frequently dropped entirely. It teaches the difference between *þ* and *b*, emphasizes the *th* in "the" and "that," reinforces the use of *ing* as in "sitting" and "spinning."

From Kornhauser:

"The children will say, 'Here go the book' instead of 'Here is the book.' " says Kornhauser. "They also have an *a* and *an* confusion and usually use the verb form 'to be' incorrectly. So we extract the pattern that needs to be practiced, like 'here is' or 'we are.' Then we provide a variety of stimulating situations in which the youngster must practice that particular pattern."

Miss Holston adds, "We set up to teach a particular skill and just drill, drill, drill. But the drill comes naturally. It's not imposed on the children, but flows out of the stories or the trips. There is a reason. It's not just rote. We use the same technique from kindergarten through third grade. The skills are different, but certain skills are needed in every grade.

"We start all classes off with one of the most widely used and one of the most important skills—and that's listening. We also do this from

kindergarten through third grade. If a child is not a good listener he won't be able to grasp the other skills—writing, reading, spelling, and speaking."

Listening, in fact, has come in for some special attention in Washington's schools. A pilot project is underway to test whether—among other things—listening skills can be taught more efficiently through the use of radio.

"There are many school principals who want the services of a language arts teacher in their schools," Kornhauser explains, "but we can't get the funds. So we got the idea of doing a radio project in cooperation with American University and its FM station. We figured we could share some of the skills and expertise we've developed in the Language Arts Program with others through radio."

So far the radio project, funded under title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, has produced 14 tapes designed to increase listening skills. Most of the tapes are made up simply of raw sounds for the student to identify. The tapes were broadcast for a week to classes taught by 164 selected teachers in 38 elementary, junior, and senior high schools. Researchers are now studying the reaction of students and teachers to the broadcasts; an evaluation is due later in the year.

Kornhauser points out that, although some cities are making use of radio in their schools, "no city that I know of has designed tapes of this type that concentrate on listening. The language arts schools are not involved, because this whole program was designed to provide services to schools that do not already have the services of a language arts teacher."

If it proves worthwhile Kornhauser hopes the radio project can be expanded to virtually every class in every Washington school. Some broadcasts, he thinks, might even be created especially for parents.

While American University lends its facilities and talents to the Language Arts Program, Catholic University and George Washington University engage in studying the program. Also the Center for Applied Linguistics has created some new teaching materials and is carrying on a study of urban dialects. The National Gallery of Art provides packages of art reproductions and sculpture.

In one of the most unusual projects, Arena Stage, a resident dramatic company in Washington, helps teachers learn how to use games as a teaching device. For the language arts teachers, instruction is slanted to teach them games that can be used for language development and language drill.

But is the Language Arts Program actually doing some good?

Kornhauser is sure of it.

"Tests that have been conducted by university researchers say things like this: 'The experimental schools exceed the control schools in word meaning, language facility, picture vocabulary, and Merrill-Palmer Scale. The experimental schools' students do relatively better than their original reading readiness would have indicated. The experimental schools particularly excel on the English error score segment of the Daily Language Facility Test.'

And: 'When the experimental and control groups were compared on the incidence of eight major categories of speech errors at each of three levels of language facility, the experimental group did better in 18 out of 24 comparisons. This is significant at the one percent level.' And: 'The Language Arts Program appears to be an effective way of helping culturally different children increase their language skills and learn to use standard English with greater accuracy. It should be continued and intensified.' "

Miss Holston is sure of it, too.

"The children, I feel, are much richer through their real experiences, like the field trips afforded by the Language Arts Program. They have much more to talk about. They just babble all over the place when we get back from trips. The stories and poetry help them too."

The intensity with which she says it is perhaps the most revealing comment of all.

❉ A Beginning Reading Program
for the Deprived Child

SAMMYE J. WYNN

The majority of children from low socio-economic family groups are notoriously deficient in language skills, have had few experiences outside the home, and lack the kind of home environment which contributes to readiness for and success in school (Bloom, Davis and Hess, 1965, p. 81).

Upon entering school at the first grade level, these children are confronted with reading materials typically based on the experiences and language of children from a more advantaged stratum of society and cannot readily identify with the characters and activities presented to them in print. At least a partial alleviation for the overall reading difficulty and poor school performance of many disadvantaged children may come from a two-pronged program involving first, reading materials based on children's actual experiences—materials which are meaningful and reality-oriented, and second, a partnership with parents with a view toward creating a home environment in which everyday living provides readiness for school and is supportive of school success.

The problems mentioned are by no means limited to the school, but rather involve the home and the entire community; any realistic approach, therefore, must take into consideration the child's total experiences. It must be stated at the outset that deprived children are very much like the more advantaged in terms of potentialities and basic human problems; the big difference is what they have missed.

Developing a Partnership with Parents

To initiate the proposed program, a logical first step is to develop a partnership with parents. This may be done through home visitation, parent-teacher conferences at school, organization of parent study groups (or clubs), or a combination of these. In many instances, winning the confidence of parents presents a real challenge since the school has knowingly or unknowingly discriminated against the poor and particularly those who belong to minority groups (Crow, Murray, and Smythe, 1966,

p. 119). Often these parents are suspicious and untrusting; they must be convinced that teachers are genuinely interested in and want to help them and their children. There has been too much alienation and estrangement between the school and the low-income parents. Both teachers and parents have mutual concern for the child, yet they have spent little time together mapping strategies, exchanging information, and planning for the children. A meaningful partnership between school personnel and parents will change this picture.

Parent Education

After gaining the confidence of parents and establishing rapport, a parent education program should be initiated which will include background information in the area of child growth and development with special emphasis on how children learn and the importance of the self-concept. A large block of time should be devoted to discussions of specific ways in which parents might use the daily lives of their children to develop their language skills, curiosity, and experience through providing learning situations in the home and informal excursions outside the home. Meetings might be planned for early evening, utilizing the format of a coffee hour with presentation of instructional material in an informal manner.

Helping Parents Create an Optimum Home Environment

Irrespective of the quality of instruction given, parents are the first teachers their children have. Numerous studies support the view that speech patterns, problem-solving methods, concept of the self, and general behavior are indicative of the effect parents have upon their children (Bloom, et al, 1965). Generally, in more advantaged homes, the very life-style followed provides readiness for school and built-in encouragement and support for continued school success. Many interesting and essentially educational experiences are planned for middle- and upper-class children in and out of the home, and they are encouraged to ask questions. Such children are helped to explore their world; to see similarities and differences, and to relate new information to that previously acquired. Books are available and the children are read to. Language facility is developed with little effort on the part of more advantaged children; they are encouraged to speak correctly and have a varied repertory of experiences about which to speak.

While the deprived child does learn sub-standard speech spoken in his home, he has practically no opportunity to hear or use literate English. His "teacher-parents" give him little information or opportunity for meaningful verbal exchange; nor do they as a rule attempt systematically to acquaint him with his world through conversation, literature, and a variety of firsthand experiences. Tragically, the child is frequently so severely de-

prived of developmental language experience that he does not know the
names for commonplace objects such as ordinary cooking utensils.

As stated by Bloom, Davis, and Hess:

> The home environment has been studied as a means of understanding the
> factors which influence development of children. Studies repeatedly show that
> the home is the single most important influence on the intellectual and emo-
> tional development of children, particularly in the preschool years. The ways in
> which parents spend time with their children at meals, in play, and at other
> times during the day have been found to be central factors in developing skills
> which prepare children for school. The objects in the home, the amount of
> parental interest in learning, and the amount of practice and encouragement the
> child is given in conversation and general learning have been found to be signifi-
> cant influences on language and cognitive development, development of interest
> in learning, attention span, and motivation to the child (1965, p. 69).

The parent education facet of the proposed program should furnish
the information and encouragement needed by parents to help them
create in their homes an atmosphere which provides readiness for school
and stimulates learning generally. Instructions given to parents in this
regard will focus on efforts which involve few or no additional expenditures
and services which are readily available. The following are suggested:

1. Exploiting free learning situations in the community.
2. Encouraging parents to listen to and talk to their children.
3. Making extensive use of the public library.
4. Making selective use of mass media.

Exploiting Free Learning Situations in the Community

A community void of learning situations does not exist. An awareness
of the many opportunities for learning offered by the community should be
developed in the parent education program. A visit to the local supermarket,
for example, affords a wonderful learning opportunity for small children. At
the supermarket the child can secure information about the sources of our
food, classification of foods, the role of the farmer and grocer as community
helpers, and equipment used in a supermarket.

Using the community as a backdrop, parents can be helped to plan
countless other activities which can provide a rich background of experiences
and stimulate learning. As parents draw on information received in the
proposed parent education program, hopefully they will develop facility in
communicating concepts and more and more serve as sources of information
for their children. In addition, as parents and children share these experi-
ences, much conversation between them will be stimulated. It is understood
that the parents in the low income stratum are operating under severe
handicaps, but nevertheless every effort should be made to inform them of
the wealth of available learning situations in the community.

Encouraging Parents to Listen and to Talk with Their Children

As reported in the literature, many parents in the low income bracket are preoccupied, and understandably so, with the business of survival but this appears to be just one component within the matrix of handicaps. The educational background must also be considered. Perhaps it is true that frequently parents are so involved in the process of providing necessities that they do not have the time or inclination to listen to their children and talk with them. On the other hand, in many instances their very deficient educational background simply discourages them from attempting to converse with their children and interpret their world to them. Often questions are discouraged because parents feel that they do not have adequate answers.

When parents are helped to gain background information themselves through the recommended parent education program, it is hoped that their confidence will be bolstered and better child rearing practices promoted. When they are helped to understand that conversation with their children plays a major role in helping the child to learn and that special experiences must be provided to stimulate communication, new horizons will be opened to both parents and children as they talk and listen to each other in discussion of shared experiences and, in the process, clarify many concepts.

Making Extensive Use of the Public Library

Almost every community has a public library which offers unlimited opportunities for learning through books, newspapers, magazines, pictures, films, film-strips, and records. The librarian is usually eager to help her patrons. The library is unfamiliar to these low income parents; and they are not quite sure that they would know how to use it even if they wanted to take their children there. Using the variety of teaching aids currently available, the classroom teacher can help parents understand the organization of the library and how to use it. Once oriented, parents can introduce their children to the wonderful world of books by visits to the library and joining the story hour sessions. With support and encouragement from the classroom teacher and librarian, an all family reading program can be developed.

Making Selective Use of Mass Media

Regardless of the degree of economic deprivation they suffer, most parents do find a way to get a television set and radio for their home. Often television is used as the baby sitter with children being allowed to see the offerings of the entire day and much of the evening. Obviously, children can learn much from radio and television if given proper guidance. It is proposed that parents be given help in making constructive use of radio and television as learning aids for their children. Annotated radio and television logs can be prepared for children cooperatively by parents and teachers so

that children may enjoy the wholesome and educative vicarious experiences afforded by selected programs.

The Classroom Program

The suggested reading program has as its target a wide-range, diversified approach to reading. In commenting on the importance of language facility and experiential background in learning to read, Lamareaux and Lee make the following statements:

> A child must have attained a certain facility with language. If a child has a limited speaking vocabulary some of the words in his reading will not come easily and naturally for he is not in the habit of using them.
>
> A child must have a background of experiences. Our only means of understanding, of interpreting what we see and hear and feel, is through our own experiences, real and vicarious. When a child's background of experience is so limited that he can find in it no basis for interpreting the materials he reads, it will have no more meaning for him than highly technical material in an unfamiliar field would for us. In hastily glancing over a few of the preprimers we find many examples of materials which would conceivably be entirely beyond the experience of many groups of children, such as children in the poorer city districts, and those who have no opportunity to go to the country; rural children lacking such features as waterways, airports, airlines and so forth (1943, pp. 45).

As the classroom teacher plans experiences for the children, she exploits the environment for learning situations in much the same way that parents have been advised to do. The child needs many, many experiences—taking the same trips and seeing the same things. Community explorations from the home and the school reinforce learnings and clarify concepts. Each visit should reveal a new dimension to the child.

In addition to working with their children at home, parents can enter into a very meaningful relationship by assuming a new responsibility, that of assisting the teacher with in-school activities. Specifically, they may be asked to help plan experiences in and outside of the school to the maximum feasible extent and help with the supervision of the children on trips. Some of the trips should be planned for weekends so that the greatest number of parents might participate and thus be able to discuss a shared experience with their children.

Interesting and Reality-Oriented Reading Materials

As boys and girls engage in out-of-school and in-school activities, the stage will be set for the development of experience stories formulated cooperatively by the children and their teacher with at least occasional participation on the part of parents. Moreover, these stories can constitute the major part of the beginning reading materials used by the boys and girls.

The appeal of the stories can be enhanced with children's drawings and blown up photographs of their activities used to illustrate their "All Around Us" stories. Later these illustrated stories of their experiences can be organized into book form. When this approach is employed, it is envisioned that most of the children will read with understanding from the very outset, for they will have an adequate experiential background for understanding and interpretation. They will also know that words tell them something. In addition, they will develop language facility as they participate in an activity, talk about it, write about it, and finally read about it. And since each activity develops its own vocabulary, boys and girls involved in such a program will have a greatly enlarged storehouse of words so that they may move, with greater ease, into the world of ideas.

After acquiring a degree of proficiency in basic reading skills through use of the experience approach to teaching beginning reading, the children may use a wide variety of easy reading materials. There is an abundance of easy reading material on the market, including such books as the Cowboy Sam series, *Are You My Mother?* by Eastman, Hurd's *Last One Is a Green Pig*, and countless others. At this point the reading program will become largely individual in nature with the built-in incentive of keeping personal records of books read. Even though trade books are involved, stories based on the children's experiences should still be developed throughout the year and added to the other reading materials. Development of reading skills should not occur in a fortuitous manner when using this suggested approach to reading; rather, these skills should be taught systematically in appropriate groupings and individually. In such a reading program it seems important, also, that a parallel effort be exerted to develop language facility through pictures, films, filmstrips; extensive use of expressive, colorful words by the teacher, story hour, discussion of books read by pupils and teacher, and discussions centering around children's experiences.

The possibilities for initiating such a reading program as suggested based upon children's actual experiences, many of which are shared by their parents, exist in most first grade classrooms throughout the country and could be implemented without major changes in professional personnel. The main requirements are teacher reorientation (in some cases) and strong teacher commitment to work with parents, even if sometimes under discouraging circumstances.

Report of a Project Similar to That Proposed

That deprived children enjoy tremendous success in reading when the *experience approach* is used and parents are involved in the education of their children was demonstrated in a research project conducted by the author in 1963. This project involved three first grade classes; an experimental group and two control groups (Wynn, 1963).

The Children

The eighty-three children involved in this project lived in a depressed area of the city and were markedly deprived. The majority of the families had incomes of less than $2,000 per year and about half were welfare recipients; in two families, three generations had received public assistance. The educational level of the parents was very low which placed them in the unskilled labor force with high unemployment rates. Very few experiences had been provided for the children; only seven had been outside of Knoxville and many had never been to the downtown section of the city, to the zoo, or any other place of interest. Although a public library was within walking distance, few families used it. Reading material in the homes was extremely limited and there were few toys. The degree of deprivation experienced by these children was reflected in their behavior; they were primarily quiet, unquestioning and generally apathetic.

Involvement of Parents

To lay the groundwork for initiating the project, a program of parent education and involvement was designed. Home visits were made the first three weeks of school, followed by organization of a First Grade Parents' Study Group with the stated objectives of helping the children make better progress in school. Cooperation was not 100 per cent, but 75 per cent of the parents followed through, which was viewed as a major breakthrough for that community.

The proposed project was explained in detail to parents who were told that their cooperation and support were vital to the success of the project. The First Grade Parent Study Group had evening meetings in the form of a social hour. During the course of the school year topics covered included the role of the parents in the experimental project, organization and use of the public library, how parents can help their children make progress in school, preparation of book lists and television logs, how children learn, and the importance of the self-concept. Many of the parents took part in trips and were active supporters of the program throughout the year.

The Program of Instruction

The program of instruction consisted of a variety of experiences including tours within the school, walks in the immediate community, and trips to places of interest in the larger community, and a classroom environment rich in stimulating materials.

The experience approach to reading was employed as numerous activities and trips in and out of the school were discussed. The response and interest were tremendous; the children were eager to help develop stories

and delighted in hearing them read. As the number of stories increased, using many of the same words, the children began to recognize words and read parts of stories independently. The usual reading skills, of course, were taught. This continued throughout the project as the class visited the zoo, public library, firehouse, bakery, and other places in surrounding areas. Interest remained high. The children read, with ease and understanding, stories of their own experiences; this zest was transferred to other reading materials in the first grade program.

Some Outcomes of the Project

Reading Achievement and Interest

The children participating in the experiment were much better readers than previous classes with similar backgrounds and read a larger number of books with greater understanding. They seemed to thoroughly understand the reading process. Their achievement in reading as compared to the control groups was significantly higher. They were interested in a wide variety of books and spent most of their free time in the library corner. These children enjoyed reading and seemed to have understood its value.

Extended and Enriched Vocabulary

The vocabularies of the children were extended and enriched. They knew a wide variety of words learned in connection with trips to places of interest and other experiences.

Dictionary Usage

The dictionary was used more extensively by the pupils involved in this study than in previous classes. They were much more resourceful in locating needed information. Out of their experience with dictionary usage these pupils developed and categorized their own lists of frequently used words.

Marked Growth in Language Facility

The children involved in this project expressed themselves better orally and in writing. They seemed to know that there were correct ways and incorrect ways to speak and write and the correct ways helped them express themselves more effectively. Their output of creative stories was prolific and they were eager talkers. There were more things to talk about and more things to write about; plans for trips and other activities, sharing of experiences, collecting data for map construction, letters of permission and thanks, experience stories, bulletins, creative stories, and a class news-

paper. The classroom was no longer quiet; many activities were conducted concurrently with the attendant buzz of conversation.

Summary

The proposed program which provides for active participation by parents and a wide variety of experiences for beginning readers with production of interesting, reality oriented reading materials embodies many of the good reading practices widely used in the teaching of reading to beginners regardless of socio-economic background. The success of the experimental program indicates that the proposed program (which enlarges and extends the experiment) offers promise of effectively combatting reading difficulty and low achievement so characteristic of deprived children.

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✸ Pre-Reading Activities in the Primary Grades

NICHOLAS P. CRISCUOLO

A major deficiency which culturally disadvantaged youngsters possess is in the area of language. Due to a general lack of experiences related to readiness for reading, many of these children are not ready to begin a formal program in reading. Rather, a rich program in oral language development activities is advocated in order to compensate for any deficiencies detected.

Activities should be geared to promote an early development of oral and written language skills which will form a strong foundation for the later acquisition of basic reading skills.

Field trips are good activities for building pre-reading skills. Discussions before and after each trip are valuable because they allow youngsters to communicate with each other. Pupil-dictated experience stories, developed by the teacher with the children, serve two desirable purposes; they help youngsters see that written language is "talk writ' down" and they stimulate interest in reading. Such field trips can begin with visits to familiar places in the city and then branch out into areas not usually visited by the children.

Word meanings and the correct usage of words present problems to disadvantaged pupils in the classroom. Selecting a "Word for the Day" is a good practice. Some word, not usually used by the youngsters, can be tacked up on the bulletin board. Children should be encouraged to use the word in their conversations throughout the day.

Special help with vocabulary can be given by having pupils use a recipe box to file new words they hear. The word can be typed on one side of the card with the primary typewriter and its meaning on the other side.

Single story booklets, cut from old readers, can be clipped together and placed at the library corner. The endings of some of these stories can be omitted and the youngsters asked to compose their own endings. These endings do not have to be written, but can be shared orally with the rest of the class. The teacher should set aside some time during the school day for this purpose.

There appears to be a lack of manipulative materials in many of the homes of disadvantaged children. The teacher can compensate for this by bringing together a large assortment of items which will help them sharpen their perceptual skills. A child, for instance, might be blindfolded and allowed to smell, touch and feel the object as he attempts to identify it.

This activity is on a concrete level and the youngsters will find much pleasure in it.

The objects gathered by the teacher and class members can be labeled and form an attractive display. The youngsters can draw pictures of the objects which can be compiled into a simple dictionary. As the list grows, the words can be placed in such categories as: Something to Wear, Something to Eat, etc.

As part of my doctoral study, I recently administered a reading achievement test to three groups of children in the third grade. Each group represented the three different socio-economic levels. It was surprising to find that great numbers of children in the low socio-economic group were penalized because they did not follow directions.

Perhaps the reason for this is that children from an underprivileged area are exposed to all sorts of noises at home. The blaring of the television set, the crying of baby brothers and sisters and the sounds of the street force the youngster to "tune out" occasionally. Consequently when he takes a test, which is a structured situation, he fails to listen to the directions given by the examiner.

Tapes for listening and following directions can be used to develop needed language skills. Two such tapes with worksheets were written by me and used with small groups of primary-grade children. Simple shapes were presented on the worksheet and the children were asked, via the tapes, to mark them with certain symbols. The use of oral context was stressed by presenting simple words and stories. The children were told short stories and just before the last word was to be uttered, they were instructed to choose the correct missing word from a group of three words listed.

Large illustrations clipped from magazines can be used to enrich word meaning and to encourage creative expression. Each object in the picture should be named. Descriptive words can then be listed on the blackboard for each object. The lists of objects with their descriptive words will then provide a background for creating oral and written stories.

The compensatory language activities described in this article will help the primary-grade child who comes to school lacking the skills necessary for reading. Such a language program should take place before plunging into the teaching of reading. A strong program in oral and written language, carried on in the early stages of a child's schooling, will enable the disadvantaged child to participate to a fuller extent in the school's activities as well as prevent frustrating experiences in the initial period of learning to read.

❊ Individualized Reading and the Disadvantaged

BEVERLY M. KEENER

A visit to a depressed urban area classroom during a typical reading period usually reveals a group of children holding the same book in front of them as they are seated in a circle with the teacher. At the same time, children not in the reading circle are likely to be engaged in seatwork activities of the usual sort, such as the completion of workbook exercises or reproduction of work from the blackboard. Upon closer examination of the situation, the observer notes a vacant expression on the faces of all children in the reading group, with the exception of the child who is reading aloud. When the youngsters are questioned about the passage read, they sometimes offer no response, or one unconnected with the material. Meantime, the children at their seats are staring aimlessly into space, doodling on little scraps of paper, handling small toys or talking with neighboring children. When asked to comment on this situation, the teacher will often shrug and say, "It's very difficult to keep those not in the reading circle constructively occupied." Further probing into reasons for the lack of vivacity in the reading group itself brings an even less clear-cut explanation.

While the above observations can be made in thousands of classrooms throughout the country, they are particularly disturbing when found in the inner-city, for the most difficult task facing teachers of the disadvantaged today is that of raising achievement levels in the area of reading. Over the past five years public and private organizations have spent millions of dollars to provide staff and materials for scores of special reading projects in city school systems throughout the country. In addition, vast numbers of tutorial programs manned by enthusiastic volunteers are underway in the same target areas. The federal government, as part of the war on poverty, is the latest source of staggering sums of money for remedial reading. The major thrust of most of these programs is aimed at providing children with *more of the same instruction in reading*, rather than a *different type* of instruction. In spite of this massive assault, the problem persists. Disadvantaged children almost invariably are not scoring as well as their suburban counter-parts on standardized reading tests.

It is time to re-think the ways in which reading is taught to these children. Although the individualized approach has yet to gain wide-spread

acceptance as an effective way to teach reading, the possibility of its use with deprived youngsters deserves careful consideration.

Inherent in this method are the selection of reading matter by the student himself, based upon interest and appeal, and the teaching of reading skills when a need is shown for them, rather than at a moment arbitrarily selected by the teacher. The use of self-selected material is an excellent means of reaching the disadvantaged, for it is well known that the typical basal reader featuring stories about unreal children who speak in clipped sentences and live in a middle-class utopia does little to kindle a love of reading in any child, let alone one whose world is very different from that portrayed in most readers. As Walter Barbee, noted authority in the area of reading, expressed it in *Educator's Guide to Personalized Reading Instruction:* "The interest which the child has in the material read will influence his ability to read it. The usual type of story found in basal readers, which certainly is not representative of the type of child found in lower economic groups, and may not even be representative of the type of child from higher economic groups, has little appeal." By providing youngsters with a wide range of books for, about, and by minority groups as well as those that feature the urban environment, the teacher immediately removes some barriers to reading. As one child engaged in an individualized reading program put it, "I like reading this way because now I can read about people like me."

Another source of material for use in an individualized reading program for the disadvantaged is the students themselves. Self-written stories, dictated to the teacher who transcribes them in easy-to-read form, are bound to be of interest to the youngsters, and they will contain no concepts foreign to their experience or environment. Many stories written over a period of time by a child can be collected, bound together, and added to the classroom collection for others to enjoy.

Teachers are frequently concerned about the best ways in which to organize a class for individualized reading. This is particularly true of teachers who work with the disadvantaged, for they often find that these children have little inner-direction, possess short attention spans, and need a clearly defined sequence of classroom activities. The most successful organization seems to involve the total class of youngsters working simultaneously on the same phase of the program; all children read at the same time in their self-selected books while the teacher holds conferences with individuals. Following this, time is then given for all children to work on skills materials organized around individual weaknesses. During the skills session, the teacher may instruct a small group of children who have demonstrated a common need for certain skills, circulate among the children as they work on individual assignments, or given instruction to the poorest readers. Since many disadvantaged children demonstrate a need to become physically involved in the learning process, self-manipulated audio-visual aids such as earphones and tape recorder, individual filmstrip viewers, or reading games can be used to advantage during the skills time. In addition to provid-

ing incentive, these materials reinforce skills learning. The pairing of students to work in skills teams is another means of stimulating interest and promoting involvement. For instance, two youngsters, using one set of cards bearing pictures of objects and another with corresponding words, can alternate between matching pictures with words and words with pictures, thus strengthening the sight vocabulary of both children.

In attempting to create an atmosphere in which growth of reading power will flourish, it is important that each small degree of progress made by youngsters be recognized. This is easier to accomplish in an individualized program than in a basal reader program, for in the latter situation progress is usually signalled by movement into a "higher group," an event that does not occur frequently for most children of the poor. Too often they develop an image of themselves as always being in the "low group," be it in the reading situation or life itself. Individualized techniques give back to the child a sense of importance and worth. He knows that whatever he selects to read will meet with the teacher's approval. He is given certain guidelines to follow in the self-selection process, such as knowing that when he is unable to read more than five words on a page, the book is probably too difficult for him. However, he is left to make this judgment independently.

Further strengthening of the child's self-image occurs when he is able to make a contribution to the class which is uniquely his own—the sharing with others of a book that has delighted him. Such sharing can take the form of art projects, dramatizations of characters, or simply the reading aloud of a particularly interesting passage. It provides a creative outlet for youngsters as individuals, whets the reading appetite of other class members, and is much more warmly received by all involved than a typical book report.

Educators must reach into the realm of the new and different for solutions to the complex problems of human deprivation and its effect on learning. In an era when great need exists for a high level of education for all persons there is no better place to begin than in the field of reading instruction.

⚛ Language Arts Program for the Culturally Deprived

HARRY J. HAYES

Language arts is certainly the "payload" of the elementary school curriculum. It is also the vehicle for the other subject areas. Culturally deprived children obviously need to develop skill in using language, but they frequently lack the most vital prerequisites—social training (acceptable classroom behavior, motivation, and so forth) and language experience.

Some social training in the classroom does necessarily precede and accompany effective teaching. That aspect and general methods of teaching culturally deprived children were discussed more fully in a related article in the February, 1964, *Chicago Schools Journal* (pp. 221–228). This article focuses upon providing language experiences—reading, writing, speaking, listening—for those children who most need them.

A "saturation" program of language activities is one possibility in a self-contained classroom. Increased class time for reading in small groups, as a whole class, and individually; for phonics lessons and word study, for listening to stories; for writing short compositions; and for playing word games will make more language experiences possible. Actually, almost any teaching method will generate some success for an enthusiastic and conscientious teacher. But a variety and multiplicity of approaches provide more possibilities.

Classroom Library Key to Growth

The largest possible classroom library is a giant step forward. As many books and magazines on different topics and levels as possible should be easily accessible to the children. The school librarian might provide a basic book collection and perhaps several magazine subscriptions. Sometimes children are able to bring books. But teachers must seek out library materials: unclaimed or discontinued texts, sample copies, sales at bookstores and book counters, gifts from friends. Perhaps school funds would be available for classroom libraries; perhaps several classrooms could share a portable classroom library.

Library manners and book care should be explained and demonstrated as soon as possible. Then each child might be given a bookmark with a place

for his name, so his current book can be claimed only by him. The Children's Book Council at 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, sells excellent bookmarks illustrating "book manners" as part of an attractive Book Week Kit at $1.50.

The only way to provide for individual differences is *individually.* Initially the teacher helps select books for most students. After reading his book at his desk during library periods, the child is assigned one of several different book report forms. These include different series of factual and judgment questions about the story, and short word-study exercises. Later, less structured book reports can be attempted. Book reports serve to summarize and review what is read and can be used for measurement by the teacher.

Daily Free Reading Encourages Growth

Library or free-reading periods should be provided at least once a day and whenever a child has completed assigned work. During these periods the teacher supervises library traffic (no written circulation records are kept because they are too time-consuming and cumbersome), maintains classroom discipline, recommends books and assigns book reports, moves about the room to hear pupils read portions of their books, checks reading progress, and asks pertinent questions of individual readers. Book reports are evidence of books read and can be marked and recorded any time and returned and displayed during the library period. Of course, reports don't have to be written on every book read, especially on shorter stories and magazines. But the essential point is that the children are getting to the books and are reading. They are being supervised in following their own reading interests at various levels and prodded to continue reading and to write careful book reports. But *they* are doing the reading, *by* themselves and *for* themselves. A classroom teacher has a more lasting influence if he strives to make this self-responsibility both possible and fruitful by teaching basic reading skills, by guiding practice, and by making available and supervising a variety of language experiences.

In my fourth grade classroom, where the average membership has been forty-four, over the past few years I have collected over a thousand books and magazines in three homemade bookcases. Books cover almost all available topics and range in reading level from primers to about grade eight. Core of the collection is fifty books in the *Childhoods of Famous Americans* series published by Bobbs-Merrill. These biographies of Americans correlate nicely with fourth grade social studies units (The United States) and with one of the units in the basic reader. Reading aloud the biography of George Washington Carver to each September's new class exposes the children to an inspiring Negro and focuses their attention on the classroom library.

Variety of Materials Maintains High Interest

We have also acquired many children's classics: *Caddie Woodlawn*, *Henry Huggins*, *The Moffats*, *Heidi*, *Alice in Wonderland*, *The Wizard of Oz*, and many others. A complete collection of *Classics Illustrated* was the gift of visiting Chicago Teachers College Language Arts Methods classes. We have many collections of shorter stories and easier books like the Dr. Seuss series and Wonder Books, and subscriptions to *Highlights*, *Boy's Life*, *Jack and Jill*, *National Geographic School Bulletin*, *American Junior Red Cross News*, and *Wee Wisdom*. Children have apparently enjoyed reading from this large collection; interest remains high, reinforced by classroom and library routines.

The usual procedures are not slighted, however. Lessons involving basic readers and workbooks are administered according to standard lesson plans. Some standardization is certainly necessary. The *Weekly Reader* is a regular reading exercise. And here, having the whole class follow individual oral readers has some value for listening practice. Better readers frequently push the slower ones. Smaller groups are best for teaching, but the remaining children present a problem. Only for a limited time can they work independently in quiet.

Word-Study Games Increase Confidence

Various activities can be assigned as individual seatwork. On pieces of tag board (or index cards) about three by six inches, the teacher can carefully print basic sight words. These flashcards are kept in a specific place (near the classroom library) and can be used individually and quietly with permission. Older and more able children enjoy making these sight word sets and helping slower children use them. Sight words a child can say are put in one pile and unrecognized words in another. With help, he studies and learns these unknown words. This sort of individual learning can become a stimulating game as children build sight word vocabularies. Sight phrase cards are also very effective.

Children also enjoy working simple crossword puzzles. Puzzle books are available from Primary Educational Service, 1234 W. 79th St., Chicago. Free word games are available from American Interstate Corporation, Mundelein, Illinois. Simple versions of *Password* are available commercially.

Phonics records are useful because they stress and drill that essential and often slighted element in reading—the relationship between sounds and letters. Word building with prefix and suffix cards in a pocket chart is another excellent way to teach word analysis. Persistent and varied repetition is the key to success with slow learners.

These skills help overcome inertia. But the best way to improve children's reading is to get them to read—as much and as often as possible. These children also need practice in the reading technique called "slotting." Slotting

involves choosing one of several offered words or phrases to complete a sentence or paragraph in whole or in part. For example:

Teachers try to I children.

I. bother amuse *help* cook

These slotting exercises (involving actions, judgments, and word meanings) can easily be formulated and reproduced. But an additional and even simpler way is to use the special SRA kit *Reading For Understanding*.

Teacher's Oral Reading Helps Children Learn

Certainly the teacher can sharpen children's comprehension skills throughout the year by reading aloud to them from books and magazines from the classroom library. And four or five oral or written questions about the selection just read provide practice and measurement for listening and reading comprehension.

A class trip to the local library after sufficient classroom introduction is another way to encourage and improve reading. The children's librarian usually has several suggestions and can be of great help. The teacher might consider a class trip to the *Tribune's* Book Fair at the Museum of Science and Industry during November.

All these teaching ideas go only as far as the teacher who pushes them. Personal attitudes are basic and very quickly communicated. Constant and repetitious attention to detail is wearing, but necessary. Despite prevailing classroom conditions, mere custodial care makes the whole concept of American public education an absurdity. For culturally deprived children the possibilities are indeed limited. But the existence of possibilities is tantalizing.

Reading and Listening Produce Writing, Speaking

Meanwhile, phonetic and structural analysis skills can be reviewed daily with seatwork pages from the Continental Press series and from the Merrill Company series. Obviously, this saturation approach for Language Arts consumes more class time. But if children write a short paragraph or two several times weekly, writing skills naturally improve. Penmanship does have to be legible enough to read; the making of specific letters can be demonstrated to individuals or to the whole class as a necessity for conveying ideas. Ideas on a topic such as *If I Had a Million Dollars* or *George Carver* can be initially presented by the teacher. The teacher should seek additions to these ideas and questions, leading eventually to a class discussion. Children might ask to have various words written on the blackboard. A few of the best compositions can be read aloud and very briefly and simply discussed. Perhaps puppet shows and plays might develop from stories read and heard.

Writing and speaking thus become projections of ideas gained by reading and listening. And the saturation method of having children read, write,

TABLE 1

Growth in Reading from May 1963 to May 1964 Under Saturation Program

Pupil	IQ	Age	Reading 5/63	Reading 5/64	Gain	
1	118	9.10	3.7	8.0	4.3	
2	100	10.0	3.3	7.6	4.3	Median 5/64—5.5
3	107	9.5	4.7	7.1	2.4	Median 5/63—3.2
4	105	9.9	3.9	7.1	3.2	Median Gain 2.3
5	86	11.1	4.2	7.0	3.8	
6	101	9.9	2.2	6.9	4.7	Median IQ: 94
7	110	9.10	3.6	6.8	3.2	IQ Range 74–118
8	107	9.7	3.8	6.7	2.9	
9	95	10.6	3.6	6.7	3.1	Median Age 10.7
10	105	10.4	4.9	6.6	1.7	Age Range 9.6–13.8
11	109	9.9	4.6	6.6	2.0	85% Overage (+99)
12	108	10.6	3.2	6.6	3.4	
13	104	9.6	3.2	6.5	3.3	Reading Ranges:
14	103	10.0	4.4	6.4	2.0	5/63: 2.0–4.9
15	101	10.10	3.1	6.3	3.2	5/64: 3.0–8.0
16	97	11.1	4.3	6.1	1.8	Gains: 0.7–4.7
17	90	12.3	3.7	6.0	2.3	
18	96	10.3	2.5	5.9	3.4	
19	91	11.0	3.4	5.6	2.2	
20	86	11.8	3.7	5.5	1.8	
21	99	10.2	2.8	5.5	2.7	
22	86	11.0	2.5	5.5	3.0	
23	74	11.6	3.3	5.4	2.1	
24	91	10.2	2.2	5.3	3.1	
25	95	11.0	2.5	5.3	2.8	
26	89	11.4	2.8	5.1	2.3	
27	112	10.6	3.3	5.0	1.7	
28	96	10.0	3.4	5.0	1.6	
29	81	10.3	2.7	4.8	2.1	
30	92	10.5	3.1	4.7	1.6	
31	95	10.11	2.6	4.7	2.1	
32	83	10.1	3.4	4.5	1.1	
33	85	13.1	2.5	4.4	1.9	
34	77	13.8	2.7	4.4	1.7	
35	80	11.6	2.8	4.3	1.5	
36	85	10.6	2.4	4.3	1.9	
37	90	11.0	2.7	3.8	1.1	
38	111	11.6	2.5	3.4	0.9	
39	74	11.3	2.6	3.3	0.7	
40	77	11.1	2.0	3.0	1.0	

listen, and speak on every possible occasion helps to compensate for limited Language Arts backgrounds.

This catalog of possibilities hardly means that all is sweetness and light or, worse, regimented routine in working with disadvantaged children. Many of the more commonplace language activities have not been mentioned. And many other stimulating activities are certainly being used elsewhere. But all these language activities for culturally deprived children are attempts to adapt remedial techniques to chronically overcrowded classrooms, to vary the class-room routine from repetitive seatwork, to involve the individual child so that he will take more interest in and responsibility for his school success. Language games and activities are definitely hard to manage, but they do provide that spark disadvantaged children so vitally need.

Reading scores are, of course, not the only measure of language growth, but they are indicative of general language ability. The scores shown in Table I are a record of the kind of growth in language produced by a year's experience of the saturation techniques described here. For the teacher who diligently practices these techniques, a greater reward lies in the realization that the children, through their obvious interest in and involvement with books, are discovering worlds beyond their own.

Materials of Instruction for the Socially Atypical Child—Disadvantaged

LYNETTE SAINES GAINES

The mode of organization for the development of this significant topic seems to be facilitated best through two equally important and challenging questions: *Materials for whom?* and *Materials for what?* The *for whom* involves the socially atypical, disadvantaged pupils who need materials to aid in dispelling:

1. The self, negatively perceived.
2. Fear and apathy toward the school environment.
3. Limited experiences.
4. Language problems.
5. Apparent lack of information needed for success in school.

The *for what* encompasses the reading program in its comprehensive aspects, which can be described as including:

1. Basic or systematic reading instruction.
2. Experience or integrative units.
3. Reading in content areas.
4. Personal and/or voluntary reading.
5. Corrective and/or remedial reading.

Let us consider the socially atypical disadvantaged pupils for whom the materials will be suggested. Whatever is stated about any such group focuses on clusters of the characteristics listed above and is highlighted by needs for heightened self concept, broadened and enriched experiences, language facility, and a feeling of belongingness in school situations. These findings are documented by such students of the subject as Martin Deutsch of the Institute for Developmental Studies, Benjamin Bloom and his editing of materials for compensatory education, and Richard Corbin and Muriel Crosby in their report on *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged.*[1]

It is obviously important, furthermore, that any consideration of "for whom" the materials will be suggested must take into consideration the fact that vast individual differences exist within and between groups which are labeled as "disadvantaged." In this writer's own experiences with disadvan-

taged Negro and white children it is obvious that many of the same disadvantages obtain, but in varying degrees and intensities. In working with white children in a Southern city she noted that in language problems, for example, both groups had their limitations, but the white children had a kind of aggressiveness which facilitated communication in any circumstances. On the other hand, Negro children in the same city and in similar circumstances were quite reticent in the classroom, but highly communicative on the playground or in other peer group situations. Both groups had some fears and apathies toward school situations, but the sources of difficulties often differed.

It was noted, also, that in the area of lack of information and background experiences a teacher must be careful, lest she should make the error of feeling that because some more conventional and acceptable topics may be relatively unfamiliar to the socially disadvantaged child, he does not have ideas, images, concepts, and associations from his own environment. Often his concerns are not welcomed during a "show and tell" period or a sharing session, but he has a world of ideas often somewhat foreign or even obnoxious to the middle-class or more advantaged teacher. This and other facts must enter into the choices of materials for the disadvantaged or we run the risk of insulting levels of intelligence and insight which are often underestimated.

The basic facets of the reading program: developmental, unit, content-oriented, voluntary, and service-centered are often overlooked in plans for the disadvantaged as well as the advantaged. This fact of lack throughout the reading program may account for the fact that reading is not a favorite lifetime activity for a large percentage of the population of the United States. This trend accounts for the fact that in recent textbooks by Nila Smith,[4] Bond and Wagner,[5] and the four-volume proceedings of the 1966 international Reading Association Convention, considerable attention is given to a comprehensive reading program and its inter-disciplinary aspects.

With this brief consideration of reading materials "for whom" and "for what" we move to the specific areas of suggestions regarding materials.

Books

For the socially atypical child, books fall within at least three general categories, basic, trade, and programmed and packaged. With regard to the basic readers Dr. Whipple has done an excellent job of outlining publications geared to heightening the self concept and broadening the horizons of the disadvantaged. In an IRA pre-conference institute in Dallas, Texas, 1966,[5] she emphasized the kinds of multi-ethnic readers that have been done within the last decade as (1) those that are published on a dual basis, one with traditional content and the other to meet the demands of integration; (2) the ones that have been revised to include some representatives of all minority groups, but with little change in basic content or orientation; and (3) books that have been prepared specifically for broader and deeper appreciation of all racial groups with no efforts to serve the needs of any special group. This

speaker can appreciate each of the efforts but would call attention to the fact that with the vast demands for reading materials it is not possible to await an avalanche of readers geared to meet the needs of a present social revolution. Rather, the teacher must be aware of these materials, use them when possible, but be cognizant that it will be many years before an adequate supply of such books will be available, be they fully ethnic, tokenly illustrated, or dual in orientation. Possibly, for most teachers it is better to depend on the regular basal readers for safe promotion of the developmental program.

Fortunately, trade books hold promise of supplementing and extending what is begun in the basal readers. Disadvantaged youngsters who find themselves negatively perceived, limited in experiences, and lacking in information have a very real need for books with high interest content, but low level difficulty. Spache[5] and many other compiles (sic)* of bibliographies have done suggested lists of this type. Aspects of the individualized and personalized approaches are based on the selection of wide varieties of books as a part of the pupil's own reading program. Often the availability of such materials can stimulate and facilitate systematic growth in basic skills at times when pupils have wearied of routine and lack of success in a given system of skills-development. This writer has been impressed and surprised by what biographies, simplified science series, and adventure series in recent editions have done for reluctant, disadvantaged readers.

Still, within the area of books, the disadvantaged pupils are led frequently to levels of discipline and increased concentration through programmed or highly structured offerings, such as are being promoted through Dr. Sullivan's materials which blend the phonological and structural aspects of linguistics; through the expanding laboratories of Science Research Associates; and by programs from the Educational Development Laboratories, with the controlled and structured designs. Under such programs, many disadvantaged pupils have for the first time the opportunities of assuming immediate responsibility for the types of responses made and of realizing the actual processes involved in such areas as study-type reading, increased rate of perception and comprehension, and listening as related to reading.

Experience-Activity or Language Experience

A second general area of materials for the disadvantaged and the promotion of a comprehensive reading program is experience-oriented. Herein are the materials which grow out of the lives of the boys and girls, dispelling in some instances, the fear and apathy of a school environment which seems disrespectful to them as individuals. The charts, booklets, leaflets may carry pictures of them in meaningful settings. The content may be poems, short stories, sentences, picturesque phrases—growing out of their yearnings and aspirations. This writer is reminded of a project which featured Savannah,

* "Compiles" is the word used in the original copy.—Eds.

Georgia, a scenic, historic city which came alive for a group of boys and girls who sought information about the top citizens of the city, irrespective of race; who learned about places to which they had not felt free to go; and who rushed and struggled to read pages which they, themselves, had composed with the help of teachers and classmates. This kind of atmosphere is similar to that of which Sylvia Ashton Warner writes regarding her significant experience and pupil-centered work in New Zealand. These materials can and should be prepared throughout all educational levels for pupils and students who need this kind of reassurance of the deep meaningfulness of reading matter.

Periodicals and Newspapers

The third general area of materials is of the daily, weekly, and monthly types, coming directly into the classrooms and becoming an integral part of the lives of pupils and students. There are many pupils among the socially atypical who have never experienced the anticipation of receiving a newspaper or magazine. They are in need of such publications as those of American Education Press, Scholastic, and other similar and more advanced publications. As Strickland says in her treatment of language arts and communications in general,[4] "outlook on life" is expanded and the pupil is encouraged to broaden perspective in terms of his immediate environment as well as his world. These are the times when teachers and classes may address themselves to the crucial issues of the day, of our country and the world, with objectivity and genuine concern. In many ways this kind of interaction is insurance *against the many tragedies that surround us in strife-torn communities and broken relationships.* Many times pupils and students from disadvantaged areas have not had opportunities to talk objectively, dispassionately, and fearlessly—and hence, are open to the kinds of persuasions that work to the disadvantage of all concerned. Ideally, these publications should be the property of those who suffer disadvantages. Often, in gradually awakening and widening areas of discussions vocabularies are expanded and reference to the periodicals at times other than class periods may serve to stabilize newly-found concepts. Actually, the periodicals sometimes become a source of *re-education and reduce some needs for specific correction and remediation of* many of the less intense reading difficulties.

Audiovisual Materials and Equipment

A fourth area which is included within the general categorizing of materials for the disadvantaged and a more comprehensive reading program is audio and visual in type. Particularly, within the program areas of basic instruction, reading in content areas, and corrective and/or remedial work, there is need for audiovisual equipment of the usual type. Listening stations to

simplify, clarify and review ideas are needed at times when the basic texts are too difficult or become the sources of confusions and misinterpretations. At this point, this writer is reminded of a situation wherein a certain elementary school had adopted the Joplin or uniform period for reading instruction throughout the school. At primary and upper levels pupils went to rooms where their particular reading levels were being accommodated, and, generally, they were happy and encouraged from 9:00 to 10:30 each morning. Following this time, however, the enthusiasm waned, for teachers were not meeting their needs with materials commensurate with their reading levels. Gradually, the teachers sensed the difficulty and sought means of retaining motivational levels and yet facilitating some progress in content areas. The use of taped discussions, significant filmstrips, moving pictures which gave the background phases of a topic, and creative use of transparencies compensated for inability to read texts written at regular grade levels. Of course, reading materials and aids contributed much to the periods beyond the pleasurable uniform reading period.

These audiovisual devices should be easily available to teachers of all pupils and especially to those who teach the disadvantaged, who, in many instances, are more attracted to the illustrations, the dual and multiple exposures, and aural experiences which reinforce previous reading. Teachers should not have to wait for long periods of time for a projector, a filmstrip, or a tape recorder, but these should be integral parts of the situation just as are basic texts, dictionaries, trade books, and the like.

Within the area of equipment there are, also, the training devices which should be used with care and caution, and as a part of a developmental program. When asked about rate devices, this writer takes the position that (1) the motivational values of such devices are highly desirable, even when used on a group basis; (2) the nearer the devices approximate an actual reading situation, the better are the results; and (3) the disadvantaged and limited readers often need to be convinced that their visual mechanisms can become flexible and highly trained when reading as a meaningful process is established.

Summary

Certainly, there are many other areas of materials that could be discussed: testing, informal measuring devices, special devices for building word power, and the increasing area of perceptual materials, to say nothing of efforts toward symbol-sound consistency. All have their places in the lives of all pupils and some, more specifically, in the programs for the disadvantaged. Above all, however, no matter what the basic orientation, one must come to grips with the question of books, experience materials, periodicals, and audio-visual materials *for whom and for what?*

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✿ Choosing Books for the Deprived

EFFIE LEE MORRIS

I think I can. I think I can. I think I can read that story about the train. Do you have that book?

I want *The Five Chinese Brothers* and *Rain Drop Splash*. My teacher read them to me and now I want to read them for myself.

I want a book about a boy like me.

Unusual requests to be answered by unusual books? Not at all. These requests demonstrate the different interests of children responding enthusiastically to the availability of a wide variety of good books. They were requests made to the children's librarian within the first hour of the opening of a new branch library. These were requests made by "culturally deprived" children—primarily Negro children living in a designated poverty area of San Francisco and surrounded by the negative influences of an environment in which books and other reading materials have little or no part. Yet, these children were there in a library selecting books which would satisfy their individual needs and their individual interests at that moment.

Who are "the culturally deprived," "the culturally different," "the disadvantaged" among our children today? When referring to the world of children's literature, any child who does not have access to and knowledge of good books is culturally deprived. Regardless of his economic status, his racial or ethnic background, his impoverished home in a rural or urban area, a child is disadvantaged if he has not been introduced to childhood literature.

Children need books. They need books that stimulate their curiosity and imagination, that awaken a sense of wonder and laughter, that extend their horizons and deepen their understanding. They need books which give them a sense of dignity and feelings of self-worth. They need books of truth and beauty, of substance and sincerity, told in powerful, effective, and memorable language. Above all, all children must have the right books at the right level at the right stage of their growth.

Every child has basic human emotions. He needs enriching experiences. A good book can lift him from his environment and give him a new vision of life. A good book adds to his development as an individual and gives him a certain something that cannot be taken away. A book such as Watty

Piper's *The Little Engine That Could* (Platt and Munk, 1954), or *Durango Street*, an unforgettable book by Frank Bonham (Dutton, 1965), or the colorful *Mother Goose* (Rand McNally, 1965), frequently requested at the library, are both old and new with meanings for the present generation. Childhood is too short to waste on books that do not make lasting impressions.

If books and reading are potent forces in a child's life, they may be even more effective in his life in a limited depressing environment. The Spanish-speaking children from Puerto Rico and Latin-American countries, white children in Appalachia and other depressed areas, the American Indian child, the Oriental child in a crowded city ghetto, and the Negro child in a rural or urban slum are small human beings who belong to the universal republic of childhood. Distinctly individual, pragmatic and perceptive, these children do not lack experiences, although they may not yet have learned how to articulate them or relate them to books. Accustomed to harsh realities, they are growing in a world so unpleasant that books may be the only pleasant things for them. They need to know that books are a positive element in strengthening their inner resources, and providing for them an opportunity to face life on a more equal footing with others their age.

The assumption that these children will not like good books is a self-fulfilling prophecy. They may not like them immediately if they have had no reading background, but they can be carefully led to them by a discerning, enthusiastic teacher. Adults who have worked with children and books have ample evidence of the growth and awakening which takes place when the two are brought together in an atmosphere of enjoyment, adventure, and patient understanding.

There have been observations about the lack of books with special meaning for disadvantaged children. Are we talking about children's literature or instructional materials? Much confusion exists between the two. Creative literature such as the following books that are specially enjoyed by this group belong to all children—economically disadvantaged or advantaged.

In Ezra Jack Keats's *Whistle for Willie* (Viking, 1964) Peter's actions and reactions are those of any small boy. The fact that the illustrations show that Peter *is* a Negro child will enable Negro children to identify with him just as the story enables other children to recognize the universal quality of his experience.

The Empty Schoolhouse by Natalie Carlson (Harper, 1965) provides insight into the emotions of a ten-year-old Negro girl when integration comes to her parish school in Louisiana.

Louisa Shotwell's *Roosevelt Grady* (World, 1963) tells of a migrant boy longing for a permanent home.

A Question of Harmony by Gretchen Sprague (Dodd, Mead, 1965) explores the reaction of three musical teen-agers—a white boy and girl and a Negro boy—when they expose the discrimination in their community.

The Newbery Award book, *I, Juan de Pareja* by Elizabeth Borton

(Farrar, 1965) inspires admiration for the relationship between the slave with his shackled talent and his master, Valesquez, who recognized it.

Robert Burch's *Queenie Peavy* (Viking, 1966) is about a rebellious thirteen-year-old living in the rural South who finds adjustment to her father's imprisonment difficult.

In *The Loner* by Ester Wier (McKay, 1963) a nameless orphan migrant boy wanders from Florida to a home on a sheepherder's ranch in Montana.

Maria by Joan Lexau (Dial, 1964) shows a small Puerto Rican girl exhibiting every little girl's longing for a doll.

Theodora Krober's *Ishi, Last of His Tribe* (Pamassus, 1964) provides a discerning interpretation of courage and a struggle for survival.

In *The Rice Bowl Pet* by Patricia Miles Martin (Crowell, 1962) Ah Jim wanders through Chinatown longing for a pet of his own.

The above books inspire feelings of self-worth and special identification for these special children. Access to the experience of those outside their immediate situation helps to develop understanding and appreciation for all other children.

There are some stories that seem to be universally popular in culturally deprived areas. *Harry, the Dirty Dog* by Gene Zion (Harper, 1956), *The Five Chinese Brothers* by Claire Bishop (Viking, 1938), *Rain Drop Splash* by Alvin Tresselt (Lothrop, 1946), and *The Three Billy Goats Gruff* illustrated by Marcia Brown (Scribner, 1957) are frequently requested by children and teachers. What are the elements in these stories that make them appeal so strongly? Is it family life, humor, the triumph of the underdog, natural phenomena that all children have experienced? We shall have to watch and wait and learn.

Teachers must also reexamine the books they are now using. Has the material become outdated? Are the characterizations honest by today's standards? Are the situations still valid? Do the books meet the needs of today's child?

There has not yet been time to develop lists of favorite titles which appear to have the most meaning for large numbers of these children. However, all good books speak to some of them. The products of poverty are not the same. They are individuals—slow, average, superior, gifted—with individual experiences.

To break through the spirit of isolation often present with disadvantaged children teachers must be convinced of the value not only of books which impart facts but of books which stimulate and inspire. The success of reading experiences depends in large measure upon a teacher's attitudes. If her conditioned dislike and lowered expectations for these children are evident, experiences which should be shared pleasure become meaningless.

Reading aloud at all grade levels is important and highly recommended with disadvantaged children. This activity is particularly gratifying for older

girls and boys who have been *deprived of adults reading aloud to them* in their early childhood.

Help the child to make imaginative use of good realistic material that will fulfill the larger need of the future rather than merely the needs of the moment. Allow time for him to absorb and savor what has been read. Encourage him to handle the books and reread them often.

Teachers need not feel helpless when searching for books to introduce to these special children. Think "library" when you think "book," and seek assistance from the school librarian and the children's librarian in the public library. Encourage the children themselves to visit their school and public libraries. Write state libraries, state curriculum departments, and the nearest large public library for available booklists. For more assistance see list below.

When choosing books for the culturally deprived, we are choosing books first and foremost for children. The culturally deprived, like children everywhere, respond to imagination, sensitivity, individuality, and excitement, as well as to a truthful portrayal of their world.

Whether these children be black, white, yellow, or red, their security increases as through literature they experience the truths by which all men live. They come to realize that they are not different, for in the sharing of knowledge there is no distinction. This is the confidence books can bring.

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O'Connor's article deals with what is, perhaps, the most significant issue in teaching adolescents language arts skills—who is to do the teaching? In many secondary school programs, they are not being taught because everyone believes that someone else is or should be doing it. O'Connor argues that social science teachers must assume a large share of the responsibility for teaching language arts skills, particularly comprehension skills, because social science content cannot be learned from books, films, and lectures, by students who do not know how to listen, read, and write. English teachers must also assume responsibility for basic language arts instruction even if this means temporarily neglecting the teaching of literature as Miss Silverman chose to do. Although one would hope that instruction in the secondary school academic areas never depends entirely on reading and writing, whenever learning is heavily dependent on them, teachers should teach reading and writing skills as well as their subject matter.

⚙ English Programs for the Disadvantaged

RICHARD CORBIN

By now most of us who have the means and the power to effect a change have heard or read the clichés growing out of the recent discovery of the "disadvantaged." Sheltered as some of our schools are, we know that out there in the larger world

. . . submerged in the generalization "slow learners" is a large and definable group, newly discovered in a sense, and known by various labels—the "culturally different," the "educationally deprived," the "underprivileged," or more commonly of late the "disadvantaged." These are the children from America's slums, both rural and urban. These are Puerto Ricans, migrant whites from Appalachia and other economically depressed areas, Mexican "wetbacks," and American Indians; but mostly they are Negroes.

Whatever the racial or ethnic background of these disadvantaged, their circumstances are much the same. They come from families that exist on annual incomes that fall below the established national minimum subsistence level, that have known little or no schooling, that have no job security. More than half have only one parent (generally the mother), and many have never known either parent. They come from families who seldom aspire or, when they do, aspire unrealistically, who are often idle because few jobs are open to them. They are the people who exist—one can hardly say "live"—on the wretched rim of an otherwise affluent world. And they number not fewer than one quarter of our total national population.[1]

The moment we begin talking or thinking about disadvantaged people, we run the risk of seeing them only in the abstract. "A slum is a slum," we reason with semantic naiveté, "and what is true of one slum dweller is true of them all." Thus when we are moved to action by such broad directives from above as "Away with poverty," "Down with ghetto housing," "Up with education," we are more likely to be guided by myths, legends, and other assorted hearsay than by any real and first-hand understanding of the human condition involved.

Since most of us have had no more direct experience with the slum than what we have read in *Oliver Twist*, seen on our television screens in

[1] Richard Corbin, "Literacy, Literature, and the Disadvantaged," in *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged*, Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965, p. 6.

"East Side, West Side," or observed fleetingly from the family car, lost and speeding through that "awful section at the other end of town," this is perhaps not at all surprising. This is, perhaps, one main reason why we grow impatient because the nation's war upon poverty and ignorance seems to yield so little measurable progress. That is why we are so taken aback when, after the torrent of words and the sizable-seeming appropriations we have expended on their behalf, the disadvantaged in Watts, in Cleveland, in Bedford-Stuyvesant grow angrier and more violent. Some of the people who make up our subculture, it seems, are impatient too.

Education for the disadvantaged means chiefly English for the disadvantaged, since our language is central to all other aspects of our culture. Without the ability to speak, read, and to some extent write the standard dialect, the individual, whatever his inherent but unrealized intelligence, can never hope to enjoy vocational success or social acceptance. Without some involvement with our literature, he has small chance of lighting the fires of his imagination or gauging and pushing out toward the horizons of his humanity.

Admitting the central importance of English in any program designed to bring the disadvantaged up even as far as a reasonable level of literacy, we run head on into other problems: Where will we get effective teachers for the ghetto schools? Where will we get engaging materials for the teachers to use? Indeed, in some areas, where will we get the schools?

Some attempt to solve the first problem has been made by the government in establishing over a hundred NDEA summer institutes for training teachers for disadvantaged schools. There is only spotty evidence as yet as to how much success the program is achieving. Increasingly, urban colleges are concerning themselves with the problem, both with research and in their teacher training programs, as they recognize both the immediacy of the condition and the correlative fact that most of their teacher graduates will be operating schools where four-letter words carry more weight than Elizabethan poetry. Actually the slum school is no recent invention, but the notion that it requires new methods of teaching and relevant materials is.

Conventionally, the success of the slum-school teacher has been measured by her ability to enforce the formula "Shut up and sit down!" Thus the child was deprived at once of his best opportunity to experiment with and practice the dialect that he needed, and that we sincerely (what irony!) wanted him to have, and that was his best link to the humane tradition. It is not easy for a middle-class teacher to change in midstream, reject all her training, and let children talk freely in a dialect she has never bothered to learn. Even more difficult is it for her to accept the fact that these children can discuss meaningfully the fundamental issues of life as they experience them and can write eloquently about those issues within the bounds of their dialect, provided she controls her fixation on "correctness" and in her passion to "improve" them bides her time. There are notable exceptions, but ex-

perience indicates in the main that we are most likely to overcome this obstacle in the initial orientation and training of our teacher trainees.

Providing teachers with usable materials for training in speaking, reading, and writing is also a puzzling nut to crack. While a number of individual teachers and school systems about the country have attempted to prepare such materials on their own, only one of the original NDEA Curriculum Development Centers—the Gateway English Project at Hunter College of the City University of New York—addressed itself to the problem, and specifically to teaching reading at grades 7, 8, and 9. The Gateway English staff departed radically from other programs in its belief that the skill of reading could be developed most successfully within a total language arts program. It made the following assumptions:[2]

1. All youngsters, whether reading on grade level or one or two years below it, will respond to good literature which expresses problems and ideas of relevance to them as well as to truths (whether set in realistic framework or in myth and legend) which they recognize as valid.
2. Increased interest in what is read will lead to desire for increased skills.
3. If encouraged to express themselves, students will welcome opportunities to do so, orally and in writing.
4. Emphasis on correctness may well be deferred until students are expressing themselves with directness, honesty, and a real desire to communicate their ideas to others both in speech and writing.

Early results from the experimental use of the materials for two years in six Harlem junior high school classes and for one year in classes in Miami and San Diego bear out the soundness of these assumptions. As important as the reading materials themselves—ranging from Dick Gregory and Roosevelt Grady to W. H. Auden and Benjamin Franklin—is the *Teacher's Manual* that tries in every way possible to nudge the teacher, gently but firmly, away from his traditional classroom practices toward more positive and inductive methods. And to support the teacher in important oral aspects of the program, recordings by well-known singers and readers have been taped for simultaneous use with the printed text.

The seventh grade is admittedly at least six years too late for such a program, but presumably other programs will be developed on the same pattern for the earlier school years. Indeed, some programs, like the Bank Street Readers, are already on the market. Unfortunately, the potential demand for such materials is so great and the vacuum has been so complete that some publishers have shown more haste than wisdom, to put it charitably, in offering materials which show little evidence of worth or validity.

All of these projects are pioneers, of course, and are important, but the real work lies in the future, in the development of complete programs that will carry the disadvantaged child from his preschool years through college

and finally will join him securely with the mainstream of our culture. Even such promising programs as Gateway English will yield little permanent benefit if the child at grade 9 is to be dropped back into the meaningless routine and atmosphere of failure characteristic of the traditional classroom in the slum school.

The distressing consequences of discontinuity are underscored by the government's recent study of Project Head Start, reported unofficially in an October 1966 issue of the *New York Times*:

... although the speech, work and listening habits of Head Start children were markedly better at the beginning of the kindergarten year, there were no measurable differences after six months. ... Finally, in terms of strictly educational achievements, no significant differences could be found between the two groups after six months of kindergarten.

Though discouraging, such negative evidence does not suggest that we scrap Head Start or any other section of the bridge that we are determined to build between the sub-islands and the mainland of our culture. It does suggest that we need to work faster and harder to complete the structure that will finally make possible the escape of these disadvantaged people who for so long have dwelt miserably in the damp, cold, cockroach- and rat-infested, poemless slum. Not only teachers of English in particular, but all teachers and administrators as well, have a prime and inescapable responsibility in this building.

Edwin Markham was looking at a stoop-shouldered, illiterate French peasant io a painting when he asked the questions:

When will we "straighten up that shape?"
When "touch it again with immortality?"
How give back to it "the upward looking and the light, rebuild in it the music and the dream?"

Today in every city across our land we are looking at the fact itself, and Markham's questions ring no less valid and challenging than they did more than half a century ago.

✵ Teaching Reading to the Culturally Disadvantaged
in Secondary Schools

RUTH STRANG

The teaching of reading to culturally disadvantaged adolescents is difficult for a number of reasons. During their pre-school years they have not been encouraged to talk, to think things out for themselves, to be curious. They are more often told to "be quiet" than given a reason for being quiet. This kind of family atmosphere develops "modes for dealing with stimuli and with problems which are impulsive rather than reflective, which deal with the immediate rather than the future, and which are disconnected rather than sequential."[1] Moreover, this type of arbitrary family control—"Do this because I say so"—plus a tendency on the part of parents to disparage rather than to encourage the child's effort, also tends to develop certain characteristics that are unfavorable to success in reading.

However, disadvantaged children are not necessarily poor children.[2] Children from well-to-do homes may be psychologically disadvantaged. They may have been deprived of the psychological vitamins that would have promoted their best development.

On the other hand, some children from very poor families prove not to be psychologically deprived. They have received a wealth of genuine affection and a strong sense of family stability. Each member of the family has been expected to assume some responsibility for the welfare of all; each has real work to do. Instead of patronizing expensive spectator sports, they enjoy family games, baseball in a vacant lot, trips to the museum, zoo, and public parks. The parents appreciate the value of good educational opportunities for their children. In some of these homes the Bible is still the most important book.

Antidotes to Apathy

Yet "hope springs eternal"; underneath their apparent apathy and their surface indifference to school success, many of these youngsters feel both a need and a desire to learn to read better. An unruly girl in the ninth grade who was reading at the second-grade level begged her teacher, "Please, Mr. G., teach me to read. I want to be a nurse when I grow up. You have to know how to read." When a social worker told a 15-year-old juvenile delinquent that she would help him get a job, he answered, "Nobody, including you, can get me a job. Don't you know I can't read? Not one word." An older boy who realized that he could not accept the promotion his boss offered him because he couldn't read well enough to meet the new responsibilities was strongly motivated to learn to read better. Many others realize that they cannot get the kinds of jobs they want without further training and they cannot get further training without a certain level of reading efficiency.

Desire to pass the test for a driver's license motivates many to acquire the necessary reading skill. Others have social motivations—to be able to read a girl friend's letters when one is away at camp, to order a meal at a restaurant, to read movie captions.

One intelligent Mexican-American boy, who had made no progress in reading in the ninth grade, confided to his teacher that he felt no future was possible for a person of his status, and thus there was no incentive for him to learn. The teacher told him that times were changing and that people of his nationality were becoming more prominent in American society and politics. A few days later she put on his desk a clipping about a Mexican-American who had recently been appointed to an important local government position. From then on the boy began to apply himself; he made marked progress in his reading.

It is important for the teacher to recognize and exploit any underlying incentives a student may have to put forth the effort that reading improvement requires. She should inquire: How might reading be personally rewarding to this student?

Diagnosis While Teaching[2]

In light of the foregoing considerations, it is important to begin reading instruction not with a standardized test, but rather with material that has immediate meaning, use and purpose for the individual pupil. A standardized test often intensifies the retarded reader's sense of failure and inadequacy. More immediately useful diagnostic information can be obtained from an informal test based on road signs and directions, titles of popular records, a paragraph from a driver's manual, ads in the newspaper, a menu, a recipe, or directions for making a dress or a model plane. As

The pupil reads this silently and answers the unstructured question, "What did the author say?" This can be followed by questions on vocabulary, the main idea, and the most important details. Then, with the teacher's help, the pupils discuss their answers and appraise their own reading ability. Did they get the message of this paragraph? How was the paragraph built? (A main idea and an illustration.) What was the purpose of this paragraph? How can they apply it to their own lives? Which of the difficult words did they know? How did they learn them? Which unfamiliar words were they able to pronounce? After pronouncing them, did they know their meanings? From his individual study of his responses to this paragraph, each pupil may find some aspect of reading that he needs to work on by himself or in a group. Each can set certain goals for himself.

2. Instruction and Practice in Word Recognition

In their individual efforts to read something that is of real interest to them, some pupils may discover that they are blocked by lack of word-recognition skills. The teacher may begin with some interesting exercises on context clues, the first ones involving meanings that are easily inferred—the word is defined in the sentence, a synonym is given, the meaning is made clear by a contrast, familiar expression, a summary or an association with a common mood. The pupils will bring in other sentences with the word omitted to see if their classmates can supply it. They will discover that some sentences give no clues. These call for other methods of word recognition—structural analysis, phonics, and the dictionary. In reviewing phonics, the phono-visual charts are useful: the scientific basis on which the sound-letter associations are grouped distinguishes this approach from primary grade methods. With high school pupils discovery and reasoning should replace simple associations as the essence of instruction in word-recognition skills.

3. To Fix Words in Mind

Some pupils may have difficulty in remembering the words they have newly acquired. In this case they can make a vocabulary card for each new word as they learn it: one side shows the word as a whole and as divided into accented and unaccented syllables; on the other side are the definition of the word and a sentence using it correctly. If they review these words from time to time, they can see objective evidence of growth in their meaningful vocabulary.

4. Progress in Word Knowledge

Pupils who have extreme difficulty in remembering words can often master them by the Fernald finger-tracing, or kinesthetic, method. To avoid

an unfavorable initial reaction to this method, the teaching introduces it by explaining that the mind receives impressions from all five senses; the more sense impressions, the more effective the learning. This brief excursion into psychology prevents high school pupils from rejecting the method as "babyish." After writing the word in large letters on a card for each pupil, the teacher demonstrates the process of looking at the word, pronouncing it, and tracing it with the finger, syllable by syllable. As the pupils trace the word, the teacher makes sure they are doing it correctly. When they feel that they know the word, they try to write it without looking at the model. If they make any errors, *they do not try to correct them*; they repeat the tracing process and then try again to write it correctly. When they have written it correctly three times, they add it to their card catalogue of words that they have especially wanted to learn or that have given them difficulty.

5. How to Read a Sentence

Disadvantaged children, who have not become familiar with the "sound of sentences" through hearing correctly spoken English at home, are in special need of instruction in sentence structure. In one lesson with a group of disadvantaged pupils, Mrs. Barbara Dean, a core teacher in Rincon High School, Tucson, Arizona, combined instruction on the role of imagination in reading, the selection of accurate and vivid words to describe what one sees, the construction of sentences, and the use of sentences in writing paragraphs and in writing a story.

The stimulus was a picture of warlike Arabian horses and riders. Today the pupils were to describe this picture so vividly that another person would be able to see it in his imagination. The teacher first developed some vocabulary by listing on the board a number of nouns representing items the pupils found in the picture—horses, men, rifles; then words describing the action—*trot, gallop, fight.*

To encourage them to give descriptive words and phrases, the teacher suggested sentences for them to complete—"The horse runs_____," to which the pupils responded with adverbs and phrases such as *steadily, swiftly, like the wind.* From these several classes of words the pupils began building sentences, starting with a basic pattern—*the horse runs*—and elaborating it by using descriptive words and phrases—*the white horse runs fast, like the wind.* After sample sentences had been written on the board and the pupils knew exactly what to do, they divided into groups. Each group chose one noun that it wanted to write about. As the groups worked diligently, the teacher made helpful and encouraging comments. Finally the class chose the best sentences to form a story, which was mimeographed for them to read the next day.

The high interest that was maintained throughout this period might

be attributed to several factors, primarily to the teacher's very clear, very precise directions and explanations, and her continued encouragement and approval of the pupils' earnest effort. They also appreciated the opportunity to work as a team on a concrete rather than on an abstract task. They felt successful and had objective evidence of their success.

6. Instruction in Paragraph Comprehension

Practice in constructing clear paragraphs is a good prelude to improving paragraph comprehension. We have already mentioned the desirability of studying different kinds of paragraphs and diagramming their structure.[4] It is also important to consider the purpose a given paragraph serves and the chain of logic that underlies its organization. To get a sense of the sequential development of a paragraph, pupils enjoy reconstructing paragraphs from sentences which have been typed separately These methods of locating the main idea or ideas may make more sense to their classmates than the instructions the teacher gives:

"Well, if the idea isn't interesting, I don't think it is important."

"You read and what it says mostly I think would be the main idea."

"I just read the sentences in the paragraph and which to me makes the most sense, I pick it."

To become proficient in paragraph reading, these pupils need to go through the process with the teacher again and again with different kinds of paragraphs on various subjects that they want to read about.

7. Accent on Speech

Since these pupils are especially weak in verbal communication and many of them come from non-English-speaking homes, much practice in oral language is a prerequisite to effective reading. Mrs. Betty Frey, a most successful teacher in a Tucson, Arizona, junior high school and a Laubach trainer of volunteer workers, has developed several successful and helpful methods. One method involves dialogues on various subjects, written by the pupils or by her. First she reads the dialogue to the group with natural intonation, rhythm, and stress. Then the class repeats it with her as in choral speaking. When the class has become familiar with the sound of the sentences, the boys read one part, the girls the other. Finally, pairs of individuals volunteer to read sections of the dialogue aloud.

Another popular procedure is a current events assignment. Each pupil finds a newspaper paragraph that interests him. He reads his paragraph to the class, writes the topic sentence on the board (if there is one), and underlines the phrases that tell *what*, *why*, *when*, and *how*. This approach combines instruction in skimming, oral reading, paragraph comprehension, and sentence structure.

8. *Operant Conditio~ng*

Because disadvantaged adolescents have such a need for immediate satisfactions, the procedure of rewarding specific desired behavior has proved successful with both individuals and groups. This technique may be illustrated by an individual case reported by Staats and Butterfield.[5] A 14-year-old Mexican-American delinquent boy, with a long history of school failure and misbehavior, had achieved only second-grade reading ability. His Verbal IQ was 77, Performance IQ 106, and Full Scale, 90. Over a period of four and one-half months he was given 40 hours of instruction and practice on the Science Research Associates Reading Laboratory booklets. He was given tokens of three different values—1/10, 1/5, and 1/2 of a cent—for correct responses: e.g., when he correctly pronounced the new words in a story, when he correctly read a paragraph aloud, when he was apparently attentive while silently reading the selection, and when he answered a question correctly. The tokens were plotted on a chart so that he always had visual evidence of his progress. He could use the tokens to purchase a variety of items that he chose. During the four and one-half months he received a total of $20.31 while maintaining a high level of attention and participation, learning and remembering 430 new words, and advancing his reading achievement to the 4.3 grade level. For the first time he passed all his course and decreased his misbehavior to zero. (Other kinds of rewards may of course be used where appropriate.)

The same psychological principle of reinforcement was applied in a group of disadvantaged high school pupils. They were given a checkmark on a wall chart every time they came to class on time, finished their homework, and did other specific tasks that were conducive to, or made them accessible to, reading instruction. Instead of money, they were given certain privileges, such as attending the afternoon movie, in return for a certain number of check marks. This group also benefited from this approach: they became more receptive to learning.

The results in both instances were probably due not only to the immediate rewarding of specific desirable acts, but also to the social reinforcement that was given by the experimenter, to the stimulating effect of being in an experiment, and possibly to other extra-experimental factors.

9. *Other Methods*

A number of other methods and materials have also been used successfully with disadvantaged adolescents. In a youth camp, students were assigned for daily sessions in the SRA reading Laboratories. They also regularly used the Pilot Library for work in vocabulary development, reading and discussing books they themselves selected, and writing at least one book report on self-assigned reading in fiction or non-fiction. The library became "an oasis of silence and calm" where students began to come voluntarily.[6]

Auto-instructional and programmed materials and methods have also been used to reduce these pupils' passivity. They gain a greater sense of achievement and reward by seeing the value of their own responses than by having them judged by the teacher.[7]

10. Reading Materials

The success of all reading procedures and methods depends upon the suitability and attractiveness of the reading materials; this is where instruction starts. The first step is to let the student select something that he really wants to read. Then he has the incentive to acquire whatever skills the reading or the dramatization of the stories requires. It is helpful to have on hand multilevel materials such as the SRA Laboratories; the Educational Development sets also contain interesting short articles; trade books and series of high interest and low difficulty can be found on all subjects.[8] A number of magazines and newspapers that are simply written and yet capitalize on genuine adolescent interests are now available: for example, *Scope*, published by Scholastic Magazines; and *News for You*, published by Robert S. Laubach (Laubach Literacy, Inc., Box 131, Syracuse, N.Y. 13210).

Regardless of what specific procedures or reading materials are used, teachers and administrators must take an attitude of "positive expectancy" toward these pupils, must focus on their assets rather than on their faults. Instruction must be personalized. Each pupil must see its purpose and must feel rewarded by objective evidence that he is making progress toward becoming the kind of person he wants to be.

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✿ Before It Is Too Late

BENNETTA B. WASHINGTON

As an educator and as Director of the Women's Job Corps, I have been asked to discuss whether we are losing the black children forever: whether schools, educational agencies, and libraries can effect change in mental attitudes and human behavior in the larger society, whether we can move toward an integrated society.

Our world is troubled . . . by rebellion among young adults, by racial violence, and war. Discontented students, angry black youths, urban rioting, and the dead and wounded soldiers in Vietnam are disturbing and puzzling evidences of a civilization in stress.

If we can accept the thesis that the troubles of national and local society are the troubles of the individual uncomfortably magnified, those of us in schools and libraries who are charged with the responsibility of providing a climate to stimulate change in behavior must use every resource to help students to the full realization of their potential. We must face up to the fact that these young people, who feel themselves the objects of misunderstanding and dislike, will return these feelings toward what they perceive to be the source of their misunderstanding and dislike. Their feelings of anxiety, frustration, powerlessness, and inability to influence, let alone control, their destinies can induce apathy or overt destructive rebellion. We who are in the helping professions must understand this kind of aggression in human behavior and learn to use it constructively.

We must learn how to help the apathetic student whose natural aggressive drives have been stifled, who sits passively at the library table or in the classroom seething inside until the day of explosion. We must learn to help the child who has had no positive constructive relationship with an adult, whose image of himself has been so damaged that he feels no uniqueness, and whose hate is so deep that the only answer is physical destruction. These young people have lost all belief in the value of individual initiative, in the possibility of individual achievement. They feel that they have nowhere to turn.

I have known intimately young people who have been subjected to the blight of discrimination and who feel alienated from the society. For these young people, the traditional concepts of education are no longer adequate.

I have been the principal of a special school for disturbed boys and of

an inner-city high school in a depressed area. Now I am the Director of the Women's Job Corps—a program designed for girls between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one who are out of school and out of work. As such, I have seen young people who have been regarded as useless rubbish changed to fully functioning productive individuals. In our Job Corps Centers we work with young women who come from the poorest of the poor families. Some have had no family in the usual sense. The weight of poverty has a way of crushing people, of shattering human relationships. Often girls, dropouts from inner-city schools, arrive bristling with hostility, hopeless and fully convinced that they are as they have seen themselves reflected in the eyes of others—worthless. Never having experienced success or known approval, they feel an indistinguishable mass in the vast sea of faceless failures.

The first thing those of us in the schools must do is face up to the fact that we have a problem that can be solved. We have mouthed the phrases about a free and open democratic society and yet, deep down too many young people feel, as a result of their experiences, that they are not treated with equal justice by our society—their main contact with the larger society being the schools. Our problem is to help these victims of hate and distrust unlearn the sad and traumatic lessons taught by a racist society.

How can we change schools and libraries from sources of frustration to sources of security and instruments of progress? How can we help the students overcome attitudes derived from the knowledge that their ancestors were slaves? How can we change their current perception of themselves—that they and their brothers throughout the world are still enslaved by those who regard themselves as either inherently superior or superior because of the culture into which they were born?

Whatever the historical and environmental causes of the problems facing black youngsters, failure at school for most of them means failure in reading and verbal skills. This failure to master the basic skills of communication closes many doors. The way one uses language is no less a caste mark in our society than in Eliza Doolittle's London. Speech that identifies a "lower class" background deprives the speaker of a meaningful present and stifles hope in the future. Thus, exposure to the traditional school or library becomes still another source of frustration, resentment, and bitterness.

To many professional educators, these children appear incapable of attending to any task long or incapable of tearing themselves away from a task in which they are engrossed. Often, they will insist on being the first in line at the bookshelf, the first to get a seat. They demand the most attention and find it difficult or impossible to follow the rules and regulations of a traditional library. Although designed to make children feel wanted, those familiar techniques which teachers glean from courses in educational psychology seldom work. If used with younger children, physically handicapped children, or the so-called mentally retarded, many old techniques simply increase hostility. Children may become disruptive or withdrawn and passively resistant, driven

to act out their impulses by tearing up books or by retreating and refusing to open them. Often the student views the library as a place for the "in group" in the school, or as a battlefield where he must make one last stand. He may feel that there is no relationship between what he finds here and what he knows from his life experiences.

However, if the librarian and the teacher see their role as one of helping the student to restructure his image of himself and of stimulating his intellect, all-out war can be easily avoided. We must begin with the basic assumption that every child who enters a library wants to learn and can learn, and that when children are treated with respect, when they believe that someone values them, they will be able to learn.

Does the school library that the black student enters speak of respect for him? Are the rows of Dewey-decimal-catalogued books set up to be protected from him, to be efficiently checked in and out? Are the books of more value to the school than he is? Is the library a threat-producing situation or a place that helps the student find out who he is? Does the mat at the door say "Welcome" or "Hush?" If we in education are honest, we must acknowledge that libraries in too many instances have been just one more put down.

What bridges the gap between the world of school books and the real world of students? Where are the library materials and activities that could help *break down the psychological and sociological barriers of these young-sters and combat the negative forces of a society that is leading them to failure, frustration, and violence?*

Schools serving large numbers of youth who suffer from many forms of *deprivation must admit that they have played a part in creating and main-taining a feeling of failure, a pathetic concept of self.*

If the self-concept of individual worthlessness is learned, can we not provide experiences in which students automatically develop self-respect and confidence? Children discover that they are liked, wanted, and accepted from having been wanted and accepted, from having experienced success. One learns that he is understood and that his presence is desired not from being told but from the way he is treated.

If we are to win back the black student whose ambition and excitement in learning has been destroyed, both the materials and approach must be geared to the needs of the potential reader. We must bridge the gap between the world of books and the real world.

School reading *has* need *for more biographies and fiction books that portray Negroes as significant, contributing members of an interracial society.* The Negro youngster rarely hears of or is taught about important contemporary Negroes, except for those who appear in headlines as a result of the Civil Rights movement. He is not introduced to Negro figures who quietly, behind the headlines, are serving important functions and initiating changes in attitudes. Outside Government service, sports, and entertainment, the Negro remains an almost unmentioned commodity. Black faces are rarely seen

in our most ubiquitous reading materials—comics, advertisements, the women's pages of newspapers, and the dozens of magazines that purport to portray life in America.

How many Americans have ever heard of June Middleton, the only Negro woman selling stocks and bonds for a New York Stock Exchange firm? At sixteen June was a social worker and taught ballet to boys. One of her students is now a professional dancer, and many of the boys profited from a view of life they would not otherwise have had. Her life and the lives of thousands of other Negroes would feed the hunger of young black students by providing the material out of which they could forge their own identities.

The story of an ordinary, every-day mother who tired of having her children transferred from one inadequate school to another and found the strength to organize an effective protest is beautifully told by the Boston psychiatrist Robert Coles in *Dead End School*. Sensitively illustrated by Norman Rockwell, it is a story for every child whose mother ever attended a P.T.A. meeting, but will probably be appreciated even more by those who thought their mothers were too active.

The list of books which realistically depicts Negroes and other minority groups is growing, and perhaps we can look forward to the day when teachers and librarians will not have to search for material or make use of the special lists compiled by the New York and Chicago libraries and by other groups particularly concerned with presenting all children with an honest and complete picture of American life. We must not forget that injustice is done to all children who are presented with a distorted, one-sided view of life in a country as varied and rich as our own. At the very least children should know the origin of such phrases as "The Real McCoy."

Books which stress urban problems and contain illustrations of members of minority groups are especially appealing and reassuring to black and brown children trying to find their place in our world. Photographs are most convincing, although drawings of high quality are also very effective.

Every library and classroom should include materials which treat the cultures of Africa, Puerto Rico, Mexico, and indigenous America as positive factors in the growth of the nation. Materials that might cause embarrassment should be treated with great caution, and unless there is some overriding reason for keeping them they should be eliminated. Sensitively reedited editions of old standbys should be substituted for originals containing language and allusions unsuitable in our changing world.

Teachers and librarians will find *We Build Together*, compiled by a committee headed by Charlemae Rollins, a most helpful list of books for children. *Hooked on Books* by Daniel N. Fader and Elton B. McNeil is an excellent description of a reading project conducted at a training school for boys. A list of paperbacks used in the project is included.

A final section of *Hooked on Books* describes a summer camp program assessed by Elton McNeil, who quotes from a theme written by a resident of a home for wayward boys—"What I Done Last Summer."

The first day we was their they took us to the . . . Libarey and the liebareyan give us any two books we wanted to keep. They was tiny paperbooks we could stick in our pockets and trade at the liebarey for other books. We used to trade books and all them magazines with other guys and sometimes we could read to the guys in the cabin with a flashlight when we went to bed. I used to take my books to the waterfront and tell one of the sitting waterfront guys to put it under his butt so's nobody would swipe it.

They used to let us play with the typewriters in the liebarey and we could look at all the books and magazines we wanted. Even if books and things got a little wrecked they didn't mess on us. I want to go back to camp next year and be a counselor when I grow up. That's what I done last summer and I still got them books.

Mr. McNeil's very interesting discussion of the techniques and attitudes of the librarians that contributed to the theme-writer's enthusiasm for books ends with "The teacher-trainees among the counselors were brain-washed in seminars to keep them from reverting instinctively to the classic role of the teacher-who-teaches-the-children-to-respect-books-and-to-take-care-of-them."

Too often as teachers and as librarians we lose sight of the fact that the books were created for the children rather than the other way around, an indication that we must be at least as innovative in changing our approach as in selecting newer and more relevant reading materials.

The Cardozo High School Project in Washington, D.C., is an example of needed classroom experimentation. Here attempts were made to develop curriculum materials and teaching methods which would have some meaning to deprived, urban youngsters, ninety-nine percent of whom were Negro. In English literature, books with characters and content immediately recognizable to the students were selected. This was done by using works of the last two decades first. After the students had responded to modern literature and successfully coped with it, they were eager to read from works of other centuries. Under the guidance of empathetic teachers, these children moved easily from the twentieth century to that of fifth century Greece and seventeenth century England. They saw that what they responded to in Holden Caulfield's dilemmas was also present in Oedipus' struggle; that others, caught in a web of events, became frustrated with their inability to cope; that Oedipus in the act of gouging out his eyes represented their own violent solutions to frustration and anger. And, for the first time they found excitement in the past instead of irrelevancy.

Social studies classes can effectively utilize a similar procedure by moving from prominent contemporary Negroes, well-known and easily identifiable, to historical figures. The late Martin Luther King; Mayors Carl Stokes, Richard G. Hatcher, and Walter Washington; Willie Mays, Sidney Poitier, Bill Cosby, Whitney Young, Kenneth Clark, Dorothy Height, Justice Thurgood Marshall, Secretary Robert Weaver, Ambassador Patricia Harris, Coretta King, Pearl Bailey, Diahann Carroll—all have meaning to today's Negro youth. They represent the Negro's present struggle to gain equality and to

help all minorities and disadvantaged segments to benefit from the opportunities available in our country.

There is a tremendous need for continued development of books with which older students can identify. At the present time, high school youth from disadvantaged backgrounds within urban areas relate most dramatically to works such as Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, Sillitoe's *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner*, Hansbury's *Raisin in the Sun*, Lawrence and Lee's *Inherit the Wind*, Baldwin's *Blues for Mr. Charlie* and *The Fire Next Time*, and the *Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Malcolm Little with the assistance of Alex Haley. I am somewhat amused, as I suggest these titles to you, by the knowledge that not too long ago in the Northeast, a legal suit charging obscenity was initiated to eliminate one of these titles from book lists for young people. Surely it is true that one of the most persistent forces affecting disadvantaged youth in our society is our unwillingness to examine—coldly and analytically—the evils which *do* exist. Instead, we call books about slums, ergo people from slums, obscene.

Reading must be satisfying to the reader. To appeal to all the learning senses and thereby reinforce pleasure, active involvement on the part of the reader must be supplemented by dramatization, discussion, debates, records (backed up with sound effects and music), films, and television. By the same token, our reading rooms and library shelves must say "Welcome" to these young people as straightforwardly as they have previously said "Go away."

Librarians must understand the internal and external forces that shape the children they serve. They must learn that nothing is more quickly communicated to students than an atmosphere of panic and despair, and that nothing is more infectious than success. They must possess a sophisticated sense of dedication and idealism. We cannot talk about respect for the individual while showing a lack of respect toward individuals. We cannot talk to our students about idealism and the satisfaction of a job well done if with every gesture we tell of our own dissatisfaction.

You, the librarian, must reach out your hand to the children who need you most, for you are the bridge linking them to the way up—to a better way of life.

We must have qualified and specialized librarians who have empathy for the young people who are there and who, through their own activities, make these libraries communities of cultural and recreational activities. The library alone cannot solve the problems that are troubling our society today, but it can be a part of the major attack. Your approach, your positive force, can help to counteract the negative forces that are seeking to tear our world apart.

✿ Reading Skills in the Social Studies

JOHN R. O'CONNOR

Generally, one is considered to be skilled if he possesses a high degree of competence in a trade, profession, a sport, or, in school, in a subject area. The student with skills is the one who is bright, superior, able to grasp information and insights with little apparent effort. On the other hand, we label as a "slow learner" the student who has few skills—and often consider it impossible for him to achieve proficiency in the use of the skills in the subject area. If this is so, we may as well surrender our efforts to teach the "slow learner," for truthfully, without skills, no one can succeed in the social studies.

"Slow learner" has become that convenient term by which educators describe any child who seems yearly to fall further behind in his efforts to master conventional subject matter. Most often, however, when a pupil is categorized as a slow learner, what is really meant is that he is a *slow reader.* There is nothing startling about the fact that some children read less capably than others. This has always been so, and as long as we continue to establish a norm that purports to represent the "average" reader, we will always have pupils who surpass the norm or lag behind it. Although there is considerable hesitation in admitting that we will inevitably have slower readers, no matter what we do in our schools, the truth is that a "norm" decrees by its nature that some must be slower than others.

The task of the teacher, therefore, is one of raising the norm, so that the slower reader of today is the equal of the better reader of yesterday. And this is not an unlikely promise, for studies in both the reading and social studies abilities of present-day pupils reveal that slower readers of this age, in great part, achieve and surpass the norms established by standard measuring instruments of 30 years ago.[1]

In the social studies, the slow reader suffers because of the all-too-prevalent concept that a class must "cover" a certain amount of subject matter in

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[1] J. R. O'Connor. "Social Studies Achievement, 1932–1962." *High Points* 46:46-50; March 1964.

Scores achieved by 207 seventh- and eighth-grade children on the Metropolitan Advanced Reading Test, Form A, administered in January 1964, were compared with scores attained by the same children on the Metropolitan Advanced Reading Test, Form A, 1932. Whereas 142 pupils were *below grade* in reading based on the 1962 norms, but 84 were below grade on the 1932 test. No children in either grade were more than one year below grade based on the 1932 standard.

an established number of weeks or months. The object of this article is not, however, to enter into a discussion of the nature of syllabi or the approaches to time allotments or emphasis upon the varied social studies disciplines. It is, rather, the censure of any orientation that provides lip service to social studies instruction without an emphasis upon social studies skills and the methods of instruction in those skills.

Let us admit, *first, that the basic social studies skills are reading skills.* Social studies teachers pride themselves on the fact that in their classes, if in few others, their pupils do read. After all, the textbook must be consumed and research must be earned out by means of a variety of reference materials. Assignments are made for out-of-class reading from library sources as well as the textbook. Often the daily homework assignment is, "Read pages 41 to 44 and answer these questions. . . ." Yes, the social studies student reads, or at least tries to read and to understand what is expected of him. But how does the slow learner—the slow reader—fare under this kind of reading program? Is he being taught to read within the framework of the social studies?

More often than not, the reading difficulty that plagues the majority of slow learners has caused them to fall behind in their social studies, and it has convinced them that they *cannot* read better than they do—and that failure awaits them again each time they renew the attempt. What is more, it probably does, unless there is a structure in social studies teaching that *combines improvement in reading skills with the development of specific social studies skills, knowledges, and concepts.* If there are certain skills whose development is an obligation shared by the social studies, we must consciously *plan for their development.* Students do not learn skills by chance. Inherent in any skills program is a fundamental concept: a skill must be taught, and it must be practiced, consciously and with effort.

In the 1963 NCSS Yearbook, *Skill Development in the Social Studies,* the skills in which the social studies at least share responsibility for development are listed: locating and gathering information; organizing and evaluating information; reading, speaking, and listening; interpreting pictures, graphs, charts, and tables. Going further, Eunice Johns and Dorothy Fraser emphasize that these skills must be taught *functionally* and in the *context of study;* there should be repeated opportunity to *practice* the skill; and that skills instruction must move from the simple to the complex.[2]

We can heartily subscribe to all these suggestions and recognize the service they render in the development of social studies skills.

But let us be specific. The basic skill that leads to most others in the "shared" skills category is the ability of the student to find the *main idea* of a paragraph or section (or even a sentence). Without this ability, we can forget about our students being able to outline, summarize, or take notes effec-

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[2] Eunice Johns and Dorothy McClure Fraser, "Social Studies Skills: A Guide to Analysis and Grade Placement," in Helen McCracken Carpenter, editor, *Skill Development in Social Studies.* Thirty-Third Yearbook, Washington, D.C. National Council for the Social Studies, 1963, p. 310 ff.

tively. Going further, all the skills involving critical thinking, substantiating opinions with proof, and supporting generalizations are based upon the ability of the youngster to determine the main, the important, the central thought of the spoken and written word. The ability to recognize the main idea and its supporting details is related to the ability to separate the relevant from the irrelevant.

But how often have we asked pupils to utilize these skills without having taught them, given opportunity for practice and reinforced them continually? Normally, a social studies teacher expects that the *skills have been taught*— by someone else in some other class. Even if they have been, a skill is not just taught; it must be practiced. This practice is necessary even for the student with a *high intellectual capacity* if he is to acquire the competence of which he is capable. The skilled carpenter and surgeon have practiced their arts after first having been taught them.

Do not think that the recognition of the main idea of a selection is too difficult for the slower reader. The frequency of error of our slower readers of junior high school age on standardized reading tests has been analyzed and has revealed that questions requiring pupils to determine the main thought of a paragraph are answered correctly *most* often. There have been more correct responses for questions involving the selection of the main thought than for questions that test the ability to note significant details or the meaning of words in context. This is true whether the pupils were reading at a fifth- or tenth-grade level. The task of the social studies is to apply this skill as emphasized in the 1963 Yearbook, *functionally and in the context of study.*

I am not suggesting that the social studies teachers become teachers of reading exclusively. I am suggesting that in the social studies we should know the skills our students possess and ought to possess—reading skills, let's call them—and that the ability to use these skills is fundamental to their success in their studies. Let us examine a few practical applications of reading skills to the social studies.

The teacher begins by selecting a textbook passage about three paragraphs in length. He asks the students to read silently each paragraph in turn and to select the main thought of the paragraph. (What is the paragraph about?) Inquiry is then made as to the reason for the selection. Members of the class are encouraged to comment on the choices of their classmates. (This kind of discussion *will prove invaluable as students progress in ability and* become concerned with the author's purpose in writing.) As a result of this procedure, the class will have selected three main ideas—three headings for a basic outline. Now the *reasons* for the selections of these important ideas are recalled; these are the details that support each of the headings. Thus, a simple outline has been developed, while subject matter has been learned. This kind of developmental process can be used again and again until it becomes part of the student's equipment whenever he is called upon to outline and summarize. Furthermore, how much better he can study and digest a new lesson on his own with this aid to learning available to him!

In performing a basic research assignment, students will build upon the process of making an outline. The shopwork project that requires a student to look for information in the library from some nebulous source and make a report with pictures and charts (to be finished in two weeks) must go! This kind of project is best entitled, "Frustrating the Slow Reader."

Rather specific materials must be known to the teacher and the students must be directed to them and instructed in their use. For example, students may read a specific article from a magazine, preferably one that the teacher has read, and submit five important ideas from the article. Then, in conference with the teacher or in a class situation, the reasons for the selection of these ideas may be discussed. Logically, students will follow the lessons learned in class on the method of determining the important ideas. Now the article may be reread for supporting statements. The details are filled in and the outline for the report is made before the student moves on, in due time and with sufficient planning, to the more complex outline or summary.

What would you think when you observe such a scene as this in a classroom? The class secretary is at the blackboard prepared to record the notes of the class discussion. After a few minutes in which the class suggests problems resulting from the introduction of machinery in the eighteenth century, the teacher asks the class to suggest the *main idea* of the discussion. The secretary dutifully writes the suggestion on the board. The teacher then asks, "What have we discussed that supports this idea?" As the class responds, the secretary writes the sub-topics in proper outline form. A glance at pupil notebooks reveals that on a series of successive lessons pupils have recorded notes with the labels of "main idea" and "sub-topic" next to the statements recorded. It does not require great wisdom to discern that this class is going to use this procedure in all their work.

In the process, content has not been forsaken. In fact, the important ideas of the passage have been made more memorable. It is not idle guessing to state that the student will probably retain such information for a greater length of time as well. For the student is not only practicing a skill, he is focusing on the important ideas—and the use of the skill makes it possible.

The same emphasis prevails during the viewing of a film or in listening to a speaker. Listening is one of the "shared" skills. During the presentation, notes are recorded. Instead of an immediate discussion of the film or speech, which can become rambling in nature, it is most effective to have the students present the ideas they have selected from the notes they have just recorded. When these ideas are seen on the chalkboard, it will be obvious that there is considerable overlapping in wording: some are then condensed into a single idea, and the important ideas evolve. The message of the presentation is spotlighted through the important ideas presented, and the skill is being practiced functionally.

Stress on this technique during a talk will help to overcome a common criticism that students do not listen. Do we *direct* their listening? Do we check their listening skills by reading short bursts and calling for a brief state-

ment of the important idea of the selection? Do we afford the opportunity for youngsters to judge the relative importance of the speaker's words? The answer to these questions must be an affirmative, for most of us secure much of our information from the spoken word. Practice in listening is as important as practice in reading in the social studies. And, the intensity of the concentration is even greater, for there is no chance for the listener to refer to material already spoken. Just as we expect youngsters to look for clues and inferences in the written word, we hold the same expectation for them in the spoken word. Too often we have assumed that listening has taken place. We must be assured that it *has* taken place.

Hopefully, the traditional homework assignment of "Read and answer these questions" is on its way out with the slow learner. Quite honestly, this type of assignment does have *for its purpose* the elicitation of the important ideas of the reading assignment. But if we wish our youngsters to concentrate on the location of *important ideas and facts, why don't we specifically ask* them to do so. The assignment may just as easily read (and with greater value in *its* statement of purpose and development of *skill*): "Read pages 61 and 62. Select the main idea of the first paragraph; select the main idea of paragraphs 2 through 5." The approach has been altered but not the emphasis, and the skills practice may result in better understanding than the search for specific and unrelated items.

Instead of "Identify these words or terms," we can ask: "What word in the second paragraph means the same as "growing in amount"? In the following paragraph as "route or road"? In the last paragraph as "journey to a holy place"? And the student might even be asked, after instruction in the skills of determining the meanings of words in context, to name the *clues that helped him* to tell the meaning of the word or expression.

Part of the task in improving skills, and perhaps the greatest part, is proving to the student that he can learn. He must succeed, and he will succeed as the instruction in skills becomes basic, specific, and continual. Even such an advanced skill as skimming for content can be taught to the slow reader, once he is convinced that he can do it. The fascinating instrument, the controlled reader, can be so manipulated as to convince the youngster that he can read faster than he believes he can by starting him at a faster rate and then slowing the rate until he is able to read with understanding. He will find that he is reading with comprehension at a rate that he believed was beyond his grasp.

The ability to skim social studies materials can be demonstrated by this simple process. Students are asked to open their books to a page selected by the teacher (preferably one without sub-headings) and simply read the first sentence of three or four paragraphs. Then, they close their books. After the sentences have been *written or paraphrased on the chalkboard* (or have been previously prepared for the overhead projector) a pattern appears in these sentences. *The class is asked what this page is all about. You may be surprised* how well they can determine the topic being discussed and even give a tenta-

tive title for the passage. Most often, the leading sentences become headings for an outline of the passage—and this understanding has accrued *before* the selection has been fully read. The reaction of students to this demonstration is evidence that here is a stimulus to intensive effort in the improvement of skills, for they have learned quickly and dramatically that they have the abilities that are useful, and that practice will sharpen them to a keen edge.

Students are expected to reason. This reasoning may involve the ability to make inferences from the spoken word or written material. Allied with the inferential ability are the skills of drawing conclusions, forming hypotheses, and making generalizations and judgments. All of these are skills of the social studies, and they are important components of instruments used to measure reading ability.

Our teachers have developed a group of questions that they have come to term "collateral questions." Their purpose is to develop in youngsters the ability to infer, predict, and characterize people and events. For example:

What would be a good title for this selection?
From what you have read, would you guess that . . . ?
As a result of this action, would you say that . . . ?
Reading between the lines, what do you think of the statement that . . . ?
What will probably happen when . . . ?
What do you think the result would have been if . . . ?
What word would you use to describe . . . ?
How would you characterize this person or event?

Of course, not all of these questions are posed in a single class session, nor are all of them adaptable for every lesson. But the possession by teachers of a fund of questions with specific purposes leads to the kind of thinking on the part of students that assists in the development of "thinking" skills. All of these are inherent in social studies instruction, and they would be used more often if there was an awareness of their purpose and their contribution toward the success we seek with our slow learners—and our rapid learners as well.

Unfortunately for our slower readers, new patterns in the social studies do not seem to take him into account. Emphasis on research materials has always required specific skills in the social studies. Now, there is an increasing emphasis on the ability to derive information from original documents. Curriculum planners have not faced squarely the problem of the slower reader in the "new emphasis." Quite honestly, new curricula will have little effect on any student who does not possess reading competence. There is little use in changing our areas of emphasis in the social studies without concerning ourselves with the most vital of means by which objectives are to be accomplished. It is certainly not in our interest to omit one-third of our students from the benefits of a new focus. There is an increasing need for the concern of *all* social studies teachers with the reading competence of *all* our students.

Herein lies a possible flaw in planning—unless adaptations are made individually by teachers everywhere. One can foresee the barriers placed be-

fore some of the youngsters when asked to read the Magna Carta. The Emancipation Proclamation, or a Supreme Court decision. For what good is familiarity with a document if it cannot be read with comprehension? Yet, the opportunities for reading growth are more readily available to us in the new curricula than even before. The opportunities cannot be lost. They will not be if social studies instructional practices are a reflection of the inherent importance of reading skills and their application within the framework of the social studies. There is no doubt that, if reading improvement is going to take place, *social studies teachers are going to be the primary source of the improvement.*

This is not an attempt to be either comprehensive or definitive on the subject of reading-social studies skills. I have tried to convey my deep concern at the assumption by some that what we should be doing in this field is not our proper function. *All* our students need instruction in fundamental skills. Of particular concern is the success of our slower readers, whose abilities can be harnessed within a structure that enables them to grow and succeed or who can be left to flounder and fail because they do not possess the necessary building tools. We are concerned with the need to "reach" the slow reader. Make no mistake—such pupils can succeed, and the development of basic skills in both social studies and reading is a primary step in the process.

⚙ Throw Out the Textbooks

ARTHUR GORDON

Everyone knows that reading is an essential skill, perhaps *the* essential skill in successful living. But far too many people never acquire it. Every year thousands of youngsters drop out of school baffled and angry because books seem to be their enemies. And experts say that millions of Americans are unable to understand a newspaper or decipher the labels on medicine bottles.

Why is this? An energetic young University of Michigan English professor named Daniel Fader thinks he has the answer. It's not because such people haven't been to school and it's not because they are stupid, he says. It's because nobody has ever sold them on the idea that reading can be exciting, thrilling, useful, stimulating, and fun. Unless a person associates reading with pleasure, Fader says, he is unlikely to learn to read at all.

This particular idea began to take shape in 1962 and 1963 when Fader volunteered to evaluate some Michigan high schools in his capacity as a university accreditation visitor. In school after school, he found teachers concentrating on the brighter students, the ones going on to college. The less able ones were simply being ignored. These "noncontinuers" were almost always poor readers. Their teachers seemed convinced that they were just not bright enough to be reached.

But Fader felt a strong sense of sympathy for these academic misfits. In his own youth, bored to a state of stupefaction by his classroom experiences, he had become a virtual dropout, spending most of his time in the public library waiting for the pool hall to open. Reading exactly what he pleased left him with a deep love of books that eventually led him into teaching. But in his progression from pool hall to professorship, he never lost his conviction that something was seriously amiss in the average classroom. Too many students were bored with what they were given to read in class.

After each school visit, Fader would come home restless and discouraged. "It's all wrong," he would say to his wife. "We're not giving the kids what they need or what they want. We're giving them what we think they should have. It's not enough to tell a youngster that he's got to learn to read. We've got to create an environment in which he really wants to read."

When his wife asked him what that environment was, he would fling out some of the ideas that were crowding into his head. "I'd get rid of

grade level. Some were sullen, some defiant, most lived in a self-woven cocoon of bitterness and distrust. They were braced for the standard application of enforced education—and ready to reject it.

But instead of being issued the usual forbidding textbooks, each new arrival was taken to a bright, airy room filled with revolving, drugstore-type racks. On the racks were hundreds of colorful paperback novels and non-fiction books. On the tables were dozens of current magazines and news-papers. Each boy was told, to his amazement, that these would be the only materials used in his English classes. He was also told that he could choose any two books to keep for his own, and that the only way he could get more was by trading the ones he had for the ones he wanted.

Thus the unorthodox classes began. One day the sole teaching material might be copies of *The Detroit News*, one for each student. Who would care to comment on the big headline about Vietnam? Who'd read aloud a story from the sports section? Who'd like to help compose a letter that would actually be sent to the letters-to-the-editor column?

Next day the teaching manual might be a weekly news magazine. The day after that, each boy might be given a paperback copy of *West Side Story*, and discussions would center around the street gangs of New York. Or a James Bond thriller by Ian Fleming. Or a book loaded with social problems such as Dick Gregory's *From the Back of the Bus*. The criterion was simple: not what might be "good" for the students to read, but what they might *like* to read—and could relate to life outside the classroom.

Inevitably, there were skeptics. Teach English from a newspaper? Limit students to paperbacks? Ridiculous! But Fader wouldn't budge. "Maybe a newspaper is nothing but a bridge," he'd say. "But it's a bridge across which a boy can crawl, stumble, and finally walk to the point where he'll tackle a book. And even if the book is what they call trash, the very act of reading a book, *any* book, can be a great, humanizing, life-changing thing."

The whole program tried to fit new solutions to old problems. So vocabularies consisted largely of four-letter words? Give each youngster a paperback dictionary in which to look up such words—and ultimately some with more than four letters. So a boy didn't think writing was important? Make him write out requisitions for tools he needed, or requests for permission to do something he wanted to do.

If a youngster hated to write themes because he knew his mistakes would be criticized, Fader would give him a blank journal and urge him to set down thoughts that would never be read by anyone, although he would get credit for the number of pages written. If he had no thoughts to record, Fader would let him copy from a magazine, a book, any source just so long as he kept putting words on paper.

"That was deep, dark, academic heresy," Fader admits. "In conven-tional classrooms, the word 'copy' is just about the dirtiest four-letter word there is. But just as you learn to read only by reading, so you learn to write only by writing."

Results were startling. One Maxey youngster laboriously copied an entire issue of a news magazine—and began asking questions about topics he'd never even heard of before. Another began scrawling obscenities, then started to copy verse, finally experimented with rhymes and rhythms of his own. A Michigan Congressman who saw the poems was so impressed that he read several into the *Congressional Record.*

Meanwhile, faster and faster, paperbacks were moving off the racks. Not always the ones Fader had expected to be popular: of the 1,200 titles he had selected, only 500 really moved. Books featuring hard-boiled detectives were a smash, but so were titles by James Baldwin and Richard Wright.

As interests increased, the boys began to barter among themselves, using cigarettes as currency. There were one-cigarette, two-cigarette, and three-cigarette books. *The Pearl,* by John Steinbeck, was a three-cigarette book. So was *A Raisin in the Sun,* by Lorraine Hansberry.

But the demand for books stopped abruptly at the paperback frontier. Fader tested this again and again. Whenever he left paperbacks and hardbacks unguarded, the former disappeared, the latter remained untouched. To Fader, such larceny was encouraging.

Everyone was thrilled one day when a gangling 17-year-old met his English teacher unexpectedly, pulled a paperback from under his shirt, waved it gleefully: "I bought it, man, I bought it! Bought four more while I was home this last time. Didn't steal none!" And he loped happily away.

Word of the Maxey experiment began to get around. Invited to Washington, D.C., Fader worked with school officials to plant his ideas in Garnet-Patterson Junior High, an over-crowded school with a high percentage of students from underprivileged homes.

Back in Detroit, Ivan Ludington arranged for Fader to meet with Detroit school authorities at a series of luncheons. With Fader eloquently pushing the ideas and Ludington offering free paperbacks and off-sale magazines, the program was started in 14 schools. Ludington Reading Rooms were an instant hit with Detroit teenagers.

One exciting aspect of the program is its apparent impact on juvenile crime. Ray Girardin, Detroit's Police Commissioner, is so impressed that he has made squad cars available to carry reading materials to the schools. Schools have reported a decrease in delinquency. Fader is not surprised. "Violence is the megaphone of the underprivileged child," he says. "But if he can learn to find action and adventure on the printed page, he won't have to shout so loudly himself."

Another heartening thing is the way the desire to read sometimes leaps from the students to their parents. Books on loan are frequently overdue because the mother or the father of the borrower is keeping them. Many of the Detroit reading rooms are open to parents as well as students after school hours: one has welcomed an average of 700 parents a week.

More and more Fader found himself in demand as a speaker. His university gave him leave of absence to devote full time to the project. He

co-authored a book—paperback, naturally—describing the evolution and application of his idea. Book distributors in other cities began to match Ivan Ludington's generosity. School systems in other States began to request information. Inquiries came from England, Canada, Australia.

Three years ago Fader obtained a grant from the U.S. Office of Education to test his idea scientifically. Under the supervision of Elton B. McNeil, psychologist at the University of Michigan, boys at the Maxey School were compared with a matched group at another training school who had not been exposed to Fader's methods.

At the end of the testing period, the control group had fallen back from where they started in their capacity to use language—the usual trend in a correctional institution. At the Maxey School, on the contrary, the boys showed a 20 per cent improvement in the length of words they could formulate from a set of letters. Their capacity to absorb a paragraph's meaning showed twice as much progress as the control group's. At control, the classroom anxiety level rose; at Maxey it fell.

Today the Federal Government is eying the program as a potentially powerful weapon in the war on poverty. Last February, Fader began a reading program at the Kilmer Job Corps Center in Edison, N.J. He thinks that eventually the program will function on the community level with reading rooms in slums and depressed areas supported by people who believe, as he does, that "language is the clothing of life, and no child should have to go naked into the world."

To Fader, the most exciting thing in the world is watching a youngster discover the joy, the thrill, the adventure of reading. One small incident seemed to sum it all up for him. One day at the University of Michigan summer camp for underprivileged children, one of the counselors noticed that two of the children were missing from a hike to a nearby lake. Backtracking, he found them coming along slowly, a Negro and a white boy. The white boy was leading his companion by the hand so that the latter could read aloud from a paperback: *Black Like Me*. They told the counselor happily that on the way home they were going to reverse the arrangement.

"You can't get out or give up," says Fader, "once you've seen something like that."

❋ Reading Activities: Using Newspapers

WALTER R. PASAN AND HELEN F. ISBITZ

Teachers who work with disadvantaged pupils in our Chicago-area school are specially encouraged to experiment with various teaching techniques and new approaches to learning. One successful technique has been the use of newspapers to supplement textbooks.

These pupils, who often have short attention spans, do not seem to tire as easily of newspapers as they do of books. They soon become aware of the tremendous amount of exciting, up-to-date information in the newspaper. One of the major classroom values is that newspaper usage can be expanded or curtailed to meet the needs of a particular group. We use the newspapers to promote the skills of oral reading, vocabulary building, and word attack, as well as techniques of organization.

Papers (enough for each pupil in class) are delivered once a week. They are rotated from teacher to teacher, so many pupils can work with them in all subject areas. (Ultimately papers go to the art room for use in art projects.) Classes visit a newspaper production plant. Each semester they also publish their own newspaper.

Motivation through use. Before each lesson, pupils browse through the paper for about ten minutes. This permits them to satisfy curiosities about their immediate interests, and the teacher has an opportunity to note interest ranges by observing the attention given to various sections of the paper.

Questions such as, "Why do people buy a newspaper?" are asked. Replies may include—"Newspapers are not expensive." "You can read about things as soon as they happen." "They give information you cannot find in books."

"What kinds of information do newspapers furnish?" We try to elicit the following answers—current events in the city, country, and world; who the world's important leaders are, and how they live; weather reports, health information; new inventions and discoveries; better ways of doing things; latest styles and prices; where to shop to get the best prices; etiquette and good manners; where to look for a job; how to be a good citizen. (Pupils may also locate places in the paper where such information is given.)

Other questions considered are: "How can a paper tell you how to live?" "What kinds of things must you know to be well informed?" "Is there more than one type of advertisement?"

Children's natural curiosity and interest in the world around them will help them learn to read and use the newspaper intelligently. We emphasize that the newspaper serves readers in six basic ways: reporting news; interpreting news; service to advertisers; service to readers; stimulating and entertaining the public; giving leadership in the community.

Newspapers in general. A headline summarizes in just a few words facts to be found in a story. Its size and position give a clue to the article's importance. Reading headlines is like looking at window displays—the reader may select items of most interest or need. Pupils should note that the first paragraph of a news story tells who, what, when, where, why, and how. The rest of the article fills in the details.

A newspaper usually has an index, as well as a digest of local, national, world news. Pupils should be taught to locate these to help them select stories or articles to read to themselves or aloud. What better opportunity to broaden horizons for disadvantaged youth?

Skimming. Skimming is a technique for finding quickly what is wanted. It helps in looking up telephone numbers or using the table of contents, index, or other reference materials. When skimming, the eyes do not look at every word, sentence, or paragraph on the page. They move swiftly across and down the page (or pages) until they spot what they want. In this manner, a newspaper can be gone over in a very short time.

Exercises with the newspaper to develop the art of skimming include: getting information from a weather report; looking for a job in the want ads; looking for a particular radio or television program listing; finding a place name in a news item; finding answers to specific questions about news items; finding a name in the sports, obituary, or similar columns; noting prices in food or clothing ads.

Improving vocabulary. Newspapers use technical words in many fields. Pupils list any such words they find and look up meanings in a dictionary. We then sometimes have follow-up sessions in which they put the words to use by giving an oral report about an article of particular interest to them.

Because disadvantaged-area pupils may find it difficult to speak to a group, the report is often written first. Several reports are tape-recorded so pupils can hear themselves speak. This enables them to listen critically (as do their peers) to their own errors in speaking and thus alerts them to poor diction and delivery.

Increasing reading speed. Reading for information is somewhat slow. Reading for relaxation becomes more rapid. A fast reader develops a system of reading by phrases rather than just words. The newspaper format helps make phrase-reading easier to grasp. We list phrases from the paper and ask pupils to add a beginning or an ending to make a complete sentence.

Writing. Fundamentals for a writing program can be taught from textbooks, but good usage is also found in newspaper material. Some specific ideas for written language are:

Copy examples of declarative, interrogative, and exclamatory sentences. (Use cartoons and jokes for this, too!)

Use grocery ads to complete a meal menu.

Write a letter in answer to an advertisement for a job.

Pretend you have something to sell. Write an advertisement for it.

Write a news story using facts found in a sports story, health column, or scientific article.

Cut out a picture or cartoon and create a story about it.

Write a letter to the editor, praising or protesting the newspaper's stand on some issue.

Write a letter of praise or criticism of a television program, directing it to the appropriate editor or feature writer.

Using graphic features. A map which appears in a newspaper is frequently a blown-up section of an area in the news. Even adults sometimes have difficulty placing these areas in correct relationship to a large map. Our pupils cut out newspaper maps and compare them with classroom maps to get a better understanding of place, location, and direction.

Pictures, graphs, and charts all help to clarify concepts.

Mathematics. Most of a paper's revenue comes from the sale of advertising space. Advertising is news of fashions, foods, automobiles, laborsaving devices, savings plans, and so on, and is used by careful shoppers to help them get the most from a budget. Examples of problems we correlate with a newspaper:

You have $10. Buy an article of clothing you need. The sales tax is . . .% and the cost of the item is . . . . . How much change will you receive?

Your family is shopping for a used car. What is the best price for the model you want? How much will you save by buying a good used car instead of a new one?

Guidance. Newspapers spend much money to give guidance in all areas of life.

Much of our thinking is colored by what we read in the press. Our know-how in many facets of family and community living is determined by such materials. What the critics say about a movie, television program, or book, in a sense, often controls the public's actions and behavior.

Our classes examine these columns and articles critically. When are the columnists trying to be funny? What factors determine their thinking on certain subjects? How well do they represent the feelings of the public?

✿ Senior-Made Primers

EVA CARLYN SILVERMAN

We were evaluating a short story unit in my twelfth grade English class of reluctant readers when Joe commented that I could make them read but that I could never make them love to do it. "Who could like reading after learning from those dumb books in first grade?" he said.

The other students thundered testimonials in support of Joe's opinion. Scornful references to "See," "See Jane," and "See Sue" poured forth from every part of the room. Apparently all my reluctant readers had initially felt cheated because, after struggling to unravel the mysteries of the printed letter, the material given them had not been worth the effort they had expended.

Half joking, I asked if they thought they could write primers that would make first graders eager to read. They assured me with no hesitation that such a task would be simple. "Well, go ahead then," I said, the only one in the room aware of what a difficult task they were confidently undertaking. In terms of reading skills, my twenty-five boys and nine girls were definitely deprived young people, and many of them had thick folders in the school's disciplinary files. Absenteeism was frequent; more than a few of the youngsters had tangled with the law.

We started our project by considering what topics could conceivably appeal to first graders. Growing out of our discussion came awareness that differences among individuals as to backgrounds, experiences, interests might affect their responses to contents of books. We decided that we must find out firsthand what today's first graders are like.

The principal of a neighboring elementary school gave us permission to work with all five sections of the first grade. Accepting my students as responsible adults—a new role for most of them—he showed them how to interview small children so that they would be relaxed and unafraid. With this background, my students were ready to discuss with him what they wanted to achieve from their first visit to the elementary school.

Back in our own classroom, my seniors and I began preparation. After studying beginning readers, we soon realized that interesting subject matter is just one part of writing for the first grade. We had to study techniques involved in the teaching of reading. We studied phonics and pored over

word lists. At the start, we rebelled against the necessity for a lot of repetition, but in the end we accepted the importance of this concept.

For our first visit with the first graders the students divided themselves into groups of seven—one group for each classroom of first graders. They were surprised and delighted to discover that first graders could "really talk" about their interests: go-karts, animals, flowers, people like themselves, games they played, and parties. The seniors found that the first graders understood many words spoken to them that they couldn't recognize on the printed page. (I reminded my students of this later on when I was helping them understand differences in hearing, speaking, and reading vocabularies.)

For the next three weeks, the class remained divided into groups as they wrote, edited, and rewrote the primers. Students with special talent helped in more than one group, and the elementary school principal as well as another teacher and I helped solve technical difficulties. We used the overhead projector to illustrate ways of correcting and editing a book page by page. We learned that it is not easy to make material interesting when only one new word per page is permitted.

My students reinforced their own reading skills by using pictures as a key to understanding. Now they confronted the problem of illustrating the primers. They had to make sure the pictures fit the words, to find out what colors are most appealing to youngsters, to be careful not to crowd their drawings with too much detail. The high school art department gave them advice and contributed materials. When we found that no one in our class could properly illustrate some of the primers, students in the art classes undertook illustrating for us. Our own class, however, did all the art work for three of the seven primers. .

We typed our primers in large letters, using a special typewriter loaned us by the business department. With the help of the graphic arts department, members of the class laminated the primers to keep them from showing signs of use.

When we had developed our primers, we worked out methods for obtaining reactions to them. The students made simple tests of recall and comprehension for each group as well as check lists, student evaluative responses, and teacher critiques. We then made our second visit to the elementary school armed with three primers about go-karts, one about a penny, one about a birthday party, and one, the read-aloud book, a true story of a pupil and her pet rabbit.

Our observations and the written responses to our queries made it clear that the majority of children liked our primers and could read most of them. Some could also read the read-aloud primer. We decided that the subject matter and the attractiveness of format were what made the primers attractive to the children.

Various parents and teachers who saw our primers indicated that they were greatly impressed with their suitability for first grade children.

Omitting any consideration of this project's impact on present or future first graders, what had this project accomplished? What relationship did it have to the course of study for senior English? How could we justify the time and effort expended during one whole semester?

From the students themselves we received critical assessments—clear, logical, thoughtful written expressions—of what the project had meant to them. All along the line, learning had obviously been taking place. Youngsters were able to recognize their own limitations, fears, and need for success. They developed skills of interviewing, oral communication, observation, critical listening, planning, and organization. They began to understand the importance of various factors in the process of learning to read, and various techniques of research and evaluation. Each student's approach to his own reading problems benefited from a carryover of this understanding.

The realization that individuals are different, with varying needs and difficulties, has become valuable to them. A new feeling of responsibility for others has become evident and is expressed in terms of what they say they want to do for their own children when they become parents.

Underlying everything else, of course, is the tremendous stimulus of generous recognition for work well done, and the discovery of how much can be accomplished by working together and sharing strengths.

❈ Living Under Water with Disadvantaged Juniors

SARAH RYDER

Last year our students at Hempstead High School participated in over 270 "Book Talks." Almost every English teacher on our staff had invited me, the librarian, into their classrooms to introduce interesting and readable books. Sometimes they asked earnestly, "My kids don't like to read—would you come in and get them started on something?" Or sometimes, they merely said, "I am assigning a book report. I guess it will be fiction this time. Can you come in on Monday?"

Each invitation is an exciting challenge and an opportunity. Unlike the classroom teacher, I know very little about an individual student. All I am aware of as I enter a classroom is their grade and track. Out of my twelve thousand books and infinite variety, what shall I choose for them in particular? In order to hang my lesson on a peg, I try to think of something fresh that has happened to me, or something exciting that has happened in the school or in the news. I try to establish a rapport and engender some enthusiasm from the beginning.

Several weeks ago, I received an invitation from a teacher to visit her English 3, lowest track class. The following day, I found myself vis-a-vis twenty-five suspicious and waiting, but not unfriendly, faces. Prepared with a story I had heard, I began:

"Suppose that tomorrow morning when you turned on your radio, you heard an announcement. The announcement said that the United States would soon be inundated by a tidal wave. What would you do?"

"I'd get me a surf-board."

There were a few giggles at this "smart-alecky" remark, but I disregarded the intent and concerned myself only with the content. "That's very good, that was an intelligent answer."

The boy looked surprised and pleased, and the class, too, was pleased. One of them had scored; maybe this wasn't going to be so bad after all; they all felt more comfortable and accepting.

"Once upon a time," I began with measured anticipation, "Destiny came down from a mountain and told a King that his land would be covered by water. The King called on three men and told them of the prediction and asked them what they would do. The first said that he would take all his

money and carouse all night. The second said that he would go to the top of
the highest mountain and pray. The third said he would summon all the
wise men, and ask them to find out how it would be possible to learn to live
under water.

"This is true for all of us, class. As conditions change, we must change,
too; we must learn to 'live under water'. If we go from one situation to
another, this means a change for us, and we must learn to cope with each
change. Some of you are going to graduate this year, and are going to get a
job—you must learn to succeed in that. Some of you are going into the
Armed Forces—you must learn to succeed in that. Almost everything you do
will constitute a change and a challenge.

"Today, I have brought in some books about people who also had to
learn to live under water. The first book is *Lilies of the Field*.

A ripple of interest was evident; some had seen the movie. I picked
up the book to start reading, and the picture of the handsome young Negro
on the jacket attracted more students. The book was also *thin* and they
were thinking of their reports. "Let's listen," I said. I read from the begin-
ning, reading enough to give them some idea of the characters and locale,
and also enough to provoke their interest in the plot. "So you see," I con-
cluded, "the hero found himself in a strange place, among strange people, and
he learned to be successful; he learned to live under water."

"Another book called *Dawn* by Elie Wiesel concerns itself with a
nineteen-year-old boy, who was called upon to kill a man, not in the heat of
battle, but in cold blood face to face." I sketched in the story and then
read of Elijah's confrontation with Lawson in the basement. I stopped just
short of the shooting. They were left wondering—did he or didn't he, but
I quickly picked up the thread of the theme.

"Here again, we have a story of someone who had to do something
that was alien to him, that was against his instincts, but he, too, had to
meet the challenge.

"Our next book, *Winter Wheat*, by Mildred Walker, concerns itself
with a young girl who left her home on a mid-western farm to go to college.
Her mother is very old-fashioned, foreign and 'different', and our heroine is
at first concerned and anxious about her background. She does not know
whether she will be accepted by the other students. She, too, may have to
learn 'to live under water'."

I held up another book. A picture of a young Indian girl was evident.

"The name of this book is *Nectar in a Sieve*. What is nectar?" Some-
body knew that it was a sweet drink. "What do you think 'nectar in a sieve'
means? What is a sieve?" Somebody answered that it is something with holes
and that the liquid drips through. "That's good! Why does the author say
that something sweet is dripping through? . . . She is saying, class, that it is
very difficult to hold on to anything sweet, any happiness, any good seems
to peter out. This is a book about an Indian family and their many diffi-
culties—they are poor, they are hungry, they cannot adjust to the new

industrialization of India. There is a conflict of the old and new cultures, and a conflict of parents and children; each must learn to live and accept a changing world." I read the passage about the strike.

In almost all the books, the student could identify with the characters or situation. In *Lilies of the Field*, the hero is a young Negro who has just come out of service (where many would be very shortly), and is traveling about in a car without a care (any adolescent's dream), and is accepted (as they would like to be) and is put to the test and comes through, triumphant and respected by all.

In *Dawn*, with Vietnam close on their heels, the situation in which the young Israeli finds himself is not too unlikely a possibility for them. *Winter Wheat* offers the girls and those who are college-bound, an identification. For all those who are embarrassed about their parents, for whatever reason, it gives pause for reflection. *Nectar in a Sieve* was chosen for its exotic setting and because it is about "young adults." Many teachers are familiar with this work and recommend it strongly to students.

Other books that fit into "living under water" are *Sea of Grass*, *Darkness at Noon*, *Lost Horizon*, and *Lord of the Flies*. Conrad Richter is very popular with the students, perhaps because his books are very readable and not very long. When I outline the plot of *Sea of Grass*, and explain about the conflict of the farmers and the cattlemen, and add a little about the love triangle, there is usually a great deal of interest displayed. The combination of Communism and imprisonment makes *Darkness at Noon* attractive. *Lost Horizon*, usually reserved for discussion on utopias and dystopias, can very easily be used here. The horror, the sweet happiness and peace, and the mystery that shrouds the book can be demonstrated by a few well-chosen passages.

Lord of the Flies, of course, lends itself to this theme. Many have heard about the book from others, many have seen the movie, and all seem anxious to read it. (We have six copies, all out all of the time.)

What results were achieved? Rising circulation figures? Maybe. Enthusiastic involvement of the students? Yes. What else? Perhaps someday at a significant time, in a trying circumstance, someone will say: "I must learn to live under water, just like that character in that book I once read."

☼ Bibliotherapy with Retarded Readers

VIOLA KANTROWITZ

As a remedial reading teacher over a number of years in two schools, one for emotionally disturbed and delinquent pupils and the other for schizophrenic children, I have been attempting to find the types of reading materials that would have special meaning for the slower learner, the emotionally disturbed child, the child with learning problems—whether these stem from physical difficulties inherent in him or result from traumatic circumstances in his life.

After exploring a great variety of books, magazines, pamphlets, and specialized materials intended for the problem learner, I found that, in certain hard-core problem cases, if one could find meaningful reading that answered that individual's particular need, one could achieve gratifying results in progress in learning, different attitudes toward books, and, sometimes, even a better self-concept over a period of time. Although the cases presented are more acute than those usually observed in the normal classroom, there are elements found in many children who are reluctant readers, particularly among the culturally deprived.

First Case Study—A Child with a Disturbed Background

Steve, a 16-year-old boy, was referred for remedial help because of a reading retardation of about five years, according to grade placement, and six years for his age. His difficulties had started in earliest childhood. He was the oldest child of a marriage characterized by frequent fights, constant arguments, and physical beatings, and was early replaced in his mother's attention by four younger siblings, leaving him with a constant desire to be babied. Always a failure at whatever he did, he settled for failure at an early age. From his first days at school, his teachers commented on his babyish and immature behavior, slow learning patterns, and withdrawn ways. He used certain defense mechanisms such as falling asleep in class, his mind blanking out, his eyes hurting him too much to see the words on the page, to cover up his inadequacy in all subject areas, even though his teachers were aware he had good background information on subjects like science, which he was unable to read, however.

The core of Steve's learning problems was centered in reading, with his parents' pressures on him to achieve countered by his own desires to thwart them. In spite of a long series of special tutors and remedial help over the years, his untimed reading score at age 16, when he started individual work with me, was 5.2, but on a Gray Oral Reading Test, his score was second grade, reflecting his slow, fumbling, laborious approach to words. His phonic skills were so poor that he could barely write a simple childish sentence.

A variety of tests gave an inkling of unused potential, but he was a mass of excuses for not functioning. He was either too sleepy, lethargic, depressed, or his eyes were playing tricks and he couldn't see the page. It was not until I discovered a mutual interest in rocks—their shape, variety, beauty—that he began to take in enough to want to listen to a book or story about rocks. He liked to look at rocks, feel them, examine their structure, and then carve them with little hand tools which were supplied him. I brought in many beautiful specimens which I had collected, and we examined them together, looking up guides for their names and location. I read these to him, and he began to ask for rocks to carve in his spare time. I discovered his principal interest was in gem rocks and those used in making jewelry (he had been part of a teen-age gang that looted jewelry before he was committed by the court), and he had a strong love for the beauty of shape, form, and design of good jewelry. Since the school gave courses in jewelry making, he was able to try to make jewelry at the same time that I read to him from a volume describing some of the techniques used in making fine jewels. Words from this became some of our earliest vocabulary words, and, though he rejected phonics, he wanted to know these words and learned them from word cards.

Steve has always lived in a dream world of unreality. He has never accomplished anything either athletically or scholastically and feels very inadequate; so he escapes into fantasies of being a superman who can accomplish stupendous feats of daring and skill. Taking off from his enthusiasm for jewelry, I started him reading a true story of treasure hunting, "Exploring for Lost Treasure"[1] which graphically describes some of the large hoards of treasure to be found in an unknown safe deposit box somewhere in England, embedded in the mud of a lake in Peru, or in the Atlantic where Sir Francis Drake had to dump his heavy load of Inca treasure. This book, from cover to cover, was the first Steve had read in his 16 years. Then he went on to a *National Geographic* article on Spanish galleons wrecked off the coast of Florida, which I rewrote in simplified form.

We avoided everyday realities by looking at the *Life* article on Soviet cosmonauts (also simplified into readable form) as well as by escaping under the sea with Jacques Cousteau. *Jewelry Making for Craftsmen*[2] continued to be a standby for guidance, even though we interspersed it with the simple, direct action type of stories in uncomplicated language found in *Teen Age Tales*, Book 1.[3] There, I carefully selected such stories as "The

Blind Machinist Who Rebuilt Boys," describing a kind blind man who adopted boys whom their parents had rejected as delinquent, or "Belle and the Fly," the story of a cocker spaniel which chose to remain sick because that was the only way he could obtain love.

As Steve slowly developed better reading skills, he began to use fewer excuses and didn't have to resort to subterfuge, but could work diligently at the tasks assigned. Gradually, his work in the shops began to improve, and, instead of sitting around idly, he started developing some skills with his hands, such as wood and metal working. He became more energetic and outgoing, tended to smile more, instead of having a vague, far-off look. Now when he begs off work in a shop he can be seen reading a technical manual or electronic guides, because he has placed his hopes on achieving in these fields. This year, Steve, now 17, scores eighth-grade reading skills on an untimed test. He is still slow but can read with good comprehension articles from *The New York Herald Tribune*, as well as the fiction or trade books which interest him.

A Second Case Study—A Schizophrenic Teen-ager

Jerry, a deeply disturbed girl who had been in a school for schizophrenic children for several years before I started remedial work with her, was far harder to reach and make contact with. Her disturbance seemed to have started at birth. She was the second child in a professional, middle-class family and made her presence known instantly by being more demanding, cranky, and vociferous in her dissatisfaction than her placid, pretty, older sister. She could not be given enough to eat, cried constantly, was hyperactive. Her mother considered her ugly, and said she resembled her grandmother, whom the mother disliked intensely. Although she had started to speak at three, she stopped and remained mute until about four and a half, when she was taken for psychiatric help by her parents, who were beside themselves with anxiety as to how to handle this very unprepossessing, demanding child, around whom all the life of the home centered.

School problems started instantly, and many arrangements were made before she was finally sent to a small residential school for schizophrenic and disturbed children. Even there she was very noticeable because of her extreme disorganization, jerky walk, disheveled hair, and ill-matching clothes. Her face always had newly scratched scars, often bleeding, from where she had torn at herself in her self-hatred. Most of her reaction to people was hostile—cursing, yelling, telling people off in foul language. She was constantly put out of the small classes she was in because she was the most outspoken in her fury at the world. Person-to-person contact with her was marked by sputtering anger, but no real communication.

There were many sessions that ended in her running out cursing, but she came back next time because she enjoyed being read to, especially about animals and dogs in particular, but it was not until I found a biography of

Helen Keller[4] emphasizing the extreme hardships that Helen Keller had overcome that I found she was starting to take in. I made them come alive to her by supplementing the fictionalized story with *The Three Lives of Helen Keller*,[5] the record of her life, the pictures of her parents, the stories she wrote as a young child, the famous friends she made.

It was at this point that Jerry said that she, too, liked to think up stories, but she could not spell or write them down, and, when she did try, her impatience and tensions became so enormous that she had to scrap them. I offered to let her dictate these to me on the typewriter, and, from then on, most sessions were devoted both to reading and writing. Her stories were usually about people or children who were crippled in some way, since that is how she saw herself; but stories such as "The Miracle" show that, for the first time, she was beginning to feel there was some hope for her. She ended the story of the crippled boy thus:

It was his birthday. He was nine today. He was sitting in his wheel chair and everybody around him was singing Happy Birthday. He was nice and kind and generous and would give a hand if he could. He cheered the kids in his ward who were sicker than he. He gave to every fund he could. Everyone loved him and was working with him. At his party, all of a sudden, he got up and walked. Everyone was surprised at the progress he made. Now he is 25. He is a healthy and happy and well boy too.

It should be noted that the Helen Keller movie was called "The Miracle Worker" and her story is called "The Miracle."

After I had read to her Helen Keller's poetic statement about what Helen would do if she were given sight and hearing for just three days, I asked Jerry to tell what she would want if given just three days to see and hear, and she dictated a poetic fantasy—three typed pages long—that began:

On the first day, I would like to see my parents' faces. I would like to see the expressions of my parents' faces so I could interpret better the mood they are in. I would also like to hold a new-born baby in my arms. I would like to see some films of me as a kid. I would like to go shopping for clothes in the department store. I would like to get three pairs of slacks, with tops to match, a mink coat, a pair of high heels. I would also like to roam through the woods, alone, and see the beauty of every living thing.

In the reading class for lower-level ability pupils, Jerry seemed to comprehend little of factual articles, could read rapidly and like a robot, but was not able to answer questions on content. Regularly, she would ask for more stories about Helen Keller. Here she understood and could interpret in terms of her own life and experiences. At this time, there were small changes taking place in her physical appearance. She began combing her hair more becomingly, bought more appropriate teen-age clothes, was sent out of class less often for foul language. Her psychiatrist at the institution used her stories as a further clue to understanding her problems in working out her

intense hatred for her mother, her rivalry with an older sister who had achieved scholastically and socially, her anger at her younger brother, who was the coddled baby that Jerry never was, About a year later, as an experiment, Jerry was given the central role of Anne Frank in a school play, and although previously she had found it hard to learn and concentrate, she memorized the entire long part and could put a good deal of empathy into the role of the girl shut up in a tiny room for years, hiding from the Nazis, feeling the turmoil of adolescent rebellion, love, hate.

Third Case Study—A Culturally Deprived Child

Thirteen-year-old Willie presented in its most aggravated form the deprived slum child who has given up on human relationships and learning. Steve and Jerry were both white, middle-class children from comfortable homes where their disturbance and difference from other children were from the earliest years sources of embarrassment and shame to their parents. Willie was the oldest child of a low-income, Negro family and suffered all through his childhood from his father's unemployment and mother's working either as a domestic or factory worker, even though there were ultimately seven other children at home with him. The family lived at first in a one and one-half-room apartment, then in a crowded project apartment where Willie never had any recognition or privacy. He had to share his room with at least two others, never had a place for toys, and had to help with all the younger children and do the household jobs for his mother. He reacted by tantrums, destructive behavior toward himself or others, rock-throwing, threatening with a knife, blindly hitting out, or sulking. His parents' unsuccessful discipline was through beating. In the Harlem school which he attended, in a class for mentally ill children, he was described by his teachers as being so withdrawn as to frighten children and adults alike. The Rorschach given him showed him to be an immature, impulse-ridden boy with poor controls who attempted to keep out of trouble through avoidance.

His negativeness was such that his reading level could not be checked because he ran from all forms of testing or self-revelation. Knowing of his difficulty in establishing human contact when I started reading with him, I went to his woodworking class and he dragged behind me, cursing all the way, saying he wouldn't come, he wasn't interested. He refused to enter my office but leaned on the door while I outlined our program—reading about pigeon raising and basketball, his only interests. He listened most reluctantly, but was caught and absorbed. The next time, though, he refused to come. From then on, he alternated, allowing himself to become involved, then fleeing. Some sessions were bleak and dark, with a hostile, icy Willie sitting in a tight shell of silence and withdrawal. Sometimes he would return and, without explanation or smile, work hard. Other times he withdrew into almost catatonic silence, looking at the blank wall. Even a simple greeting like "How are you, Willie?" seemed a shocking invasion of his privacy. On

other days, he tried writing sentences, figuring out spelling and reading, and would bask in praise of his accomplishments. At no time could he accept a cookie, or a piece of candy for fear of being involved, of becoming too soft.

Willie related to some animals, but he specially loved pigeons, and was the school's pigeon specialist. He bred pigeons and wanted to train them as racers. I used this to read to him about techniques for pigeon raising, ways of training racers, how the Army used them for sending secret messages. Although he could not read many of these himself since he was on a fourth-grade reading level, he wanted very much to know what they said, and I could capture him—for varying periods of time, depending on the mood of the day—with stories of racing pigeons, instructions on the care and feeding of pigeons, assorted bird stories projected on the reading machines. Among the most successful materials for Willie and boys like him seem to be words projected by a machine, for stories that come out of a machine do not involve reading with a person. Although Willie might find 10 minutes of reading out of a book all he could tolerate, when a similar story was projected on the controlled reader, he would take the pains to focus on the moving lines of print and work away for as long as 40 minutes. His accomplishments were a source of pride when working with the machine, and he never had to feel a sense of too close personal involvement because he could sit at the other end of the room from the tutor.

Willie's other great love was basketball. He had a good body and excellent coordination and found he received great acclaim as an athlete and a team member who was needed for the success of a group. More and more, he was drawn away from the lonely life of the pigeon-raiser to the joy of team sports and wanted to hear about other boys playing actively his favorite game. A book of basketball stories about teen-age boys with the same quarrels and antagonisms he had seemed to meet his needs, a book called *Young Readers' Basketball Stories.*[6] Unfortunately, the slangy vocabulary and style were beyond his reading skill, and it was necessary to rewrite a number of the stories in simpler form before his reading improved enough for him to read it with me, with help. There was a good story in *Stories for Today's Youth*[7] dealing with an excellent basketball player who kept fouling because of his anger at his teacher. The father helped the boy to see where his anger came from. This was very meaningful to Willie, who followed the same behavioral pattern.

Willie was single-minded in his approach. He wanted to read a particular story or book, with no phonics or preliminaries. He would accept help with a word in order to read his story and, thanks to quick recall of new vocabulary, often had mastered the word after the first attempt. Towards the end of the year it was obvious Willie was changing. There were fewer sessions where he declined to talk or ran out in a fury. He could smile and even attempt to tease. By the end of the year he came in to apologize for not having come for a reading test because he preferred swimming, but he

made another appointment for the test. Later in the year the whole program centered around basketball—vocabulary, spelling, phonic elements based on the basketball book. Although his writing and spelling were primitive, it was apparent from the stories he dictated that he had a rich imagination and an ability to use words fluently and effectively, in sharp contrast to his deprived background and poor learning experiences. When he dictated his stories, the glowering, sullen boy was replaced by a creative and inspired boy who gave, briefly, an inkling of what lay beneath, untapped.

As the year progressed and he became more involved in basketball—and then, later, in success with girls—he lost his interest in pigeons, forgot to feed them, and most of them died off. He stopped asking for pigeon books, and I could never get another story from him. School became less important as he gained more status as an athlete and member of the team. He showed up for fewer sessions, worked in all his shops only sporadically, accepted only basketball books and did no outside reading. Although his reading skills had improved by several years, he became more action-oriented and felt he had no need for academic skills.

Unfortunately, Willie could not be controlled beyond that year in the school program because he had become too aggressive in the cottage, too controlling of weaker children, uninterested in following the program laid out by the school. He had, however, developed skills in woodworking and metalworking, had improved his reading to about sixth-grade level, had learned to produce some intense and disturbing paintings, and changed his feeling about himself as a human being over the course of the year.

From the above cases, it can be seen that using carefully selected materials to motivate emotionally and socially deprived children can present rewarding results. But, although they may be reached temporarily, there is no way of telling whether life circumstances or their inner turmoil may become so overwhelming to them that books may play only a small role in their later lives.

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4. HARRITY, RICHARD and RALPH G. MARTIN. *Three Lives of Helen Keller* (Doubleday & Co., 1962).

5. HICKOK, LORENA A. *Helen Keller* (Grosset & Dunlap, 1958).

6. COOMBS, CHARLES. *Young Readers' Basketball Stories* (Grosset & Dunlap, 1951).

7. SCHLEYEN, MILTON. *Stories for Today's Youth* (Globe Book Co., 1958).

✿ 101 Books for Teaching the Disadvantaged

ALLAN C. ORNSTEIN

Educators and teachers are aware that the curriculum and text books in most schools are not related to the background or interests of the urban disadvantaged—that is, Negro and Puerto Rican children. In fact, they frequently contribute to the failure of these children. The teacher, to be sure, is willing to supplement the course work with intercultural and with minority-cultural lessons. But too often his source of information and materials are limited.

The following list of books has been compiled mainly to help the teacher with this problem. The books do not portray the Negro or Puerto Rican as a clown or object of ridicule. They do not insult or alienate the reader with stereotypes or with derogatory names or epithets. Instead, they reflect the role and contributions of the Negro and Puerto Rican in our history and culture, they enhance the essential dignity and integrity of minorities, they provide appreciation and understanding of minorities, and they promote brotherhood.

Hopefully, these books will make it possible for teachers to plan intercultural and minority-cultural lessons. The books can be used for text-books, supplementary readings, committee reports, term projects, or group discussions. The prices and publishers are listed to aid teachers and school librarians in the purchase of books. Publishing companies often will allow a 20 percent reduction for schools.

In most cases, the disadvantaged child is deficient in reading skills. Thus, the books recommended for junior-high-school students range from fifth- to ninth-grade reading level; the books recommended for high-school students start from eight-grade reading level.

Finally, it should be noted there are hundreds of other books that also could have been listed. By no means should these books be considered the only books available for this reading. However, let us first make some start and examine them.

The Past Re-Examined

BONTEMPS, ARNA. *Frederick Douglass: Slave-Fighter-Freeman* (Knopf, 1959). $3.00. A simple but dramatic biography of a famous Negro statesman. Junior High School.

————. *100 Years of Negro Freedom* (Dodd, 1961). $3.50. The history of the Negro from Reconstruction to the present. High School.

FAUSET, ARTHUR HUFF. *Sojourner Truth: God's Faithful Pilgrim* (University of North Carolina Press, 1938). $2.00. Biography of a woman who was a famous abolitionist. High School.

GRAHAM, SHIRLEY. *Dr. George Washington Carver: Scientist* (Messner, 1944). $3.25. A biography of the great Negro scientist. Junior High School.

————. *Jean Baptiste Pointe De Sable, Founder of Chicago* (Messner, 1953). $3.25. The story of an 18th century immigrant from the West Indies who shares in the settling of America. Junior High School.

GRUBER, RUTH. *Puerto Rico, Island of Promise* (Hill and Wang, 1960). (paper) $2.25. A portrait of the island—its colorful history and fascinating account of its economic and social progress under Governor Muñoz. Junior High School.

HANSON, EARL. *Puerto Rico, Ally for Progress* (Van Nostrand, 1962). (paper) $1.45. The geography, history, and culture of Puerto Rico. High School.

————. *Puerto Rico, Land of Wonders* (Knopf, 1960). $4.50. A delineation of the political, social, and economic history of Puerto Rico. High School.

HUEBENER, THEODORE. *Puerto Rico Today* (Holt, 1960). $3.00. An examination of the modern developments and progress of Puerto Rico. Junior High School.

HUGHES, LANGSTON. *Famous Negro Heroes of America* (Dodd, 1958). $3.00. Biographies of 16 famous Negroes noted for their acts of bravery. High School.

————. *A Pictorial History of the Negro in America* (Crown, 1963). $5.95. A concise text covering the arrival of the first African slave ship to present times. More than 1,000 pictures. Junior High School.

KUGELMASS, J. ALVIN. *Ralph J. Bunche: Fighter for Peace* (Messner, 1962). $3.25. A biography of the most famous Negro diplomat. High School.

MC GUIRE, EDNA. *Puerto Rico, Bridge to Freedom* (Macmillan, 1963). $4.50. The history and culture of the island with special attention to the progress of the last 25 years. High School.

PACE, HOMER. *Puerto Rico: The Quiet Revolution* (Viking, 1963). $6.95. The history and progress of Puerto Rico. Junior High School.

PEARE, CATHERINE. *Mary McLeod Bethune* (Vanguard, 1951). $3.00. A biography of an outstanding American personality who was known as the "first lady of the Negro people." High School.

RICHARDSON, BEN. *Great American Negroes* (Crowell, 1956). $3.95. Biographies of 26 Negroes famous in many different areas. High School.

RICHARDSON, LEWIS. *Puerto Rico: Caribbean Crossroads* (Camera, 1947). $3.95. An account of the problems and progress of Puerto Rico with charming pictures. Junior High School.

STERLING, DOROTHY. *Forever Free: The Story of the Emancipation Proclamation* (Doubleday, 1963). $2.95. A story of Abraham Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation. Junior High School.

————. *Freedom Train; The Story of Harriet Tubman.* (Doubleday, 1954).

$2.50. An exciting tale of the famous conductor of the Underground Railroad. Junior High School.

TOR, REGINA. *Getting To Know Puerto Rico* (Hale, 1955). $2.75. An attractive book with discussions about the history and culture of the island, as well as "Operation Bootstrap." Junior High School.

WASHINGTON, BOOKER T. *Up From Slavery* (Doubleday, 1933). $4.50. (Dell, paper, $.45.) The autobiography of the great Negro giant. High School.

WOODSON, CARTER GOODWIN. *Negro Makers of History* (Associated, 1959). $3.50. A chronicle of the Negro from his African origin. Junior High School.

———. *Story of the Negro Retold* (Associated, 1959). $4.25. The same material as in *Negro Makers of History*, but for a more experienced reader. High School.

YATES, ELIZABETH. *Amos Fortune: Free Man* (Dutton, 1950). $2.50. "The dramatic story of a slave who achieved recognition as a free man." Junior High School.

Current Literature That Reflects Our National Challenge

BALDWIN, JAMES. *The Fire Next Time* (Dial, 1963). $3.50. (Delta, paper, $.50.) Compelling essays in which the author considers the Black Muslims, Christianity, and other controversial topics. High School.

———. *Notes of a Native Son* (Dial, 1955). $4.50. (Bantam, paper, $.60.) Outstanding essays which describe the problems of the Negro. High School.

EHLE, JOHN. *Shepherd of the Streets* (Sloane, 1960). $4.00. A minister's crusade for better living conditions among the Puerto Ricans on New York's West Side. High School.

GOLDEN, HARRY. *Mr. Kennedy and the Negroes* (World, 1964). $4.95. (Crest, paper, $.60.) A serious examination of the Negro civil rights movement in the United States and of late President Kennedy's role in it. High School.

HANDLIN, OSCAR. *The Newcomers* (Harvard, 1959). $4.00 (Anchor, paper, $1.25.) The story of the "Negroes and Puerto Ricans in a changing metropolis." High School.

HENTOFF, NAT. *The New Equality* (Viking, 1964). $4.50. A comprehensive analysis of the Negro movement—what has been done and what still needs to be done. High School.

KING, MARTIN LUTHER. *Why We Can't Wait* (Harper, 1964). $3.50. (Signet, paper, $.60.) A penetrating delineation of the necessity for immediate equality. High School.

LOMAX, LOUIS. *The Negro Revolt* (Harper, 1962). $4.50. (Signet, paper, $.75.) A review of the activities, beliefs, and goals of various groups involved in the Negro Revolution—NAACP, CORE, Urban League, SNNG, and the Black Muslims. High School.

PECK, JAMES. *Freedom Ride* (Simon and Schuster, 1962). $3.50. (Grove, paper, $.50.) An examination of the 1961 Freedom Rides as told by one of its participants. High School.

RAND, CHRISTOPHER. *The Puerto Ricans* (Oxford, 1958). $3.75. A sympathetic

story of the Puerto Rican as a member of a minority group in the United States. High School.

SAUNDERS, DORIS E. *The Day They Marched* (Johnson, 1963). (paper) $1.00. A photographic record of the March on Washington. For All Ages.

——. *The Kennedy Years and the Negro* (Johnson, 1964). (paper) $2.00. A photographic record of the events during the Kennedy Administration that had particular relevance to the Negro. For All Ages.

SENIOR, CLARENCE. *The Puerto Ricans: Strangers—Then Neighbors* (Quadrangle, 1961). (paper) $1.45. "A candid picture of the largest immigrating group in the nation today." High School.

SILBERMAN, CHARLES E. *Crisis in Black and White* (Random, 1964). $5.95. (Vintage, paper), $1.95.) "The Negro crisis in America not only in relation to its history, but with respect to its possible solution." High School.

SMITH, LILLIAN. *Our Faces, Our Words* (Norton, 1964). $5.00. (paper) $1.95. In photographs and imaginary monologues—the Negro movement taking place across the country. High School.

VON HOFFMAN, NICHOLAS. *Mississippi Notebook* (White, 1964). $4.50. A dispassionate but sympathetic story of the student civil rights activities during the summer of 1964 by one of its participants. High School.

WAKEFIELD, DAN. *Island in the City* (Corinth, 1960). (paper) $1.95. A discerning study about the problems and aspirations of the people of Spanish Harlem. High School.

YOUNG, WHITNEY M., JR. *To Be Equal* (McGraw-Hill, 1964). $5.00. Practical alternatives to the racial conflict—such special programs as employment, housing, health, etc. are discussed. High School.

Music and Art

ANDERSON, MARIAN. *My Lord, What A Morning* (Viking, 1956). $5.00. An autobiography of a great woman from her childhood singing in Philadelphia church through her successful years on the concert stage. High School.

BUTCHER, MARGARET J. *The Negro in American Culture* (Knopf, 1956). $5.00. (Mentor, paper, $.50.) A study of Negro art, music, and other cultural contributions. High School.

CARAWAN, GUY. *We Shall Overcome* (Oak, 1963). (paper) $2.95. Negro folk music of the present; songs of the Southern Freedom Movement with music and words. For All Ages.

EATON, JEANETTE. *Trumpeter's Tale: The Story of Young Louis Armstrong* (Morrow, 1955). $3.00. A delightful story of the early years of the great trumpeter. Junior High School.

ERLICH, LILLIAN. *What Jazz Is All About* (Mesmer, 1962). $3.95. The history of jazz as told through tales of its people. Junior High School.

HENTOFF, NAT. *Jazz Country* (Harper, 1965). $2.95. A story about a Negro high-school student "faced with the choice of two worlds . . . a college education or the unknown challenge in the world of jazz." Junior High School.

HUGHES, LANGSTON. *Famous Negro Music Makers* (Dodd, 1954). $3.25. Short

biographies of Negro contributors in all fields of music. Junior High School.

————. *The First Book of Jazz* (Watts, 1955). $2.75. A simple history of jazz accompanied with numerous pictures. Junior High School.

JOHNSON, JAMES. *Books of American Negro Spirituals* (Viking, 1940). $5.95. Collections of spirituals and simple piano accompaniments. For All Ages.

LOMAX, JOHN A. *American Ballads and Folk Songs* (Macmillan, 1934). $8.95. A collection of folk songs, chain gang songs and spirituals. For all Ages.

PORTER, JAMES. *Modern Negro Art* (Dryden, 1943). $3.25. The rich background of the Negro in art in historical significance. For All Ages.

WHITING, HELEN A. *Negro Art, Music and Rhyme* (Associated, 1940). $1.40. A history of Negro artists and musicians, and their influence on American culture. High School.

Poetry, Theater, and Literature

AITKEN, THOMAS. *Poet in the Fortress* (World, 1964). $6.50. Story of Governor Muñoz, treated as a poet. High School.

BALDWIN, JAMES. *Blues for Mister Charlie* (Dial, 1964). $3.95. A descriptive story of the death of a Southern Negro boy, at the hands of a white man. High School.

BERNSTEIN, LEONARD. *West Side Story* (Random, 1958). $3.95. A romantic and thrilling story about Negro and Puerto Rican teenagers. Junior High School.

BONTEMPS, ARNA. *Golden Slippers* (Harper, 1941). $3.95. An anthology of representative Negro poets. Junior High School.

BROWN, STERLING. *The Negro Caravan: Writings by American Negroes* (Dryden, 1941). $4.25. An anthology of various literary types from Phillis Wheatley to Richard Wright. High School.

CULLEN, COUNTEE. *On Those I Stand* (Harper, 1947). $3.50. A collection of poems selected by the author, many depicting racial injustice in America. High School.

FITTS, DUDLEY. *Anthology of Contemporary Latin-American Poetry* (New Directions, 1942). $5.95. Includes poems by three Puerto Rican poets: Carmen Alicia Cadilla, Luis Muñoz Marín, and Luis Palos Matos. High School.

GOULD, JEAN. *The Dunbar Boy* (Dodd, 1958). $3.00. "The story of America's famous Negro poet." Junior High School.

GREGORY, DICK. *Nigger* (Dutton, 1964). $4.95. (Pocket Books, paper, $.75.) An autobiography of the comedian's rise in the field of entertainment. His dedication reads, "Dear Momma—wherever you are, if you ever hear the word 'nigger' again, remember they are advertising my book." High School.

HANSBERRY, LORRAINE. *A Raisin in the Sun* (Random, 1959). $3.95. (Signet, paper, $.50.) A play about the problems and frustrations of a Negro family living on Chicago's South Side. High School.

HILL, HERBERT. *Soon, One Morning: New Writings by American Negroes, 1940-1962* (Knopf, 1963). $6.95. A collection of essays, fiction, and poetry by contemporary Negro writers. High School.

HUGHES, LANGSTON. *The Dream Keeper and Other Poems* (Knopf, 1937). $2.75.

A collection of the author's work from his earlier poems of Jamaica and Harlem to the fascinating places of his lonely wanderings. High School.

MAUS, C. P. *Puerto Rico in Pictures and Poetry* (Sterling, 1961). $2.00. (paper) $1.00. Descriptive poems about Puerto Rico by Puerto Ricans and others—expressing the charm and beauty of the island. High School.

RICHARDSON, WILLIS. *Negro History in Thirteen Plays* (Associated, 1953). $4.00. A collection of one-act plays illustrating the history and culture of the Negro. For All Ages.

——. *Plays and Pageants from the Life of the Negro* (Associated, 1930). $4.00. Eight plays and four pageants written by Negro authors primarily for use in schools. For All Ages.

SWIFT, HILDEGARDE. *North Star Shining* (Morrow, 1947). $3.50. The history of the American Negro in verse. Junior High School.

WRIGHT, RICHARD. *Black Boy* (World, 1950). $2.50. (Signet, paper, $.75.) A penetrating story of the early life of one of the most famous American Negro writers, as told by himself. Junior High School.

The Sports World

BONTEMPS, ARNA. *Famous Negro Athletes* (Dodd, 1964). $3.25. Nine biographical stories of famous, contemporary Negro athletes. Junior High School.

BROWN, JIMMY. *Off My Chest* (Doubleday, 1964). $4.95. An autobiography of the football star's development as an athlete, as well as some candid observations on professional football. Junior High School.

CAMPANELLA, ROY. *Its Good To Be Alive* (Little 1959). $5.00. An autobiography of Campy's past and baseball career with emphasis on a hopeful future after his auto accident. High School.

GIBSON, ALTHEA. *I Always Wanted To Be Somebody* (Harper, 1958). $3.95. An autobiography of the author's life from handball in the streets of Harlem to tennis champion at Wimbledon. High School.

MOORE, ARCHIE. *The Archie Moore Story* (McGraw-Hill, 1960). $2.95. Another story of a Negro who was able to attain the "American Dream" with only his fists. High School.

PATTERSON, FLOYD. *Victory Over Myself* (Random, 1962). $3.95. The great boxer's life from his unhappy childhood in New York City to his winning the heavyweight boxing championship. High School.

ROBINSON, JACKIE. *Baseball Has Done It* (Lippincott, 1964). $2.95. Jackie Robinson's interviews with famous Negro baseball stars. High School.

SCHOOR, GENE. *Jackie Robinson, Baseball Hero* (Putnam, 1958). $2.95. The biography of the first Negro Major League baseball player. Junior High School.

SHAPIRO, MILTON. *The Roy Campanella Story* (Messner, 1958). $3.25. An account of Campy's baseball career. Junior High School.

——. *The Willie Mays Story* (Messner, 1960). $3.25. The story of Willie Mays with emphasis on his baseball career. Junior High School.

WILLS, MAURY. *It Pays To Steal* (Prentice, 1963). $3.25. The story of the only man to break Ty Cobb's record for stolen bases. Junior High School.

YOUNG, ANDREW S. *Negro First in Sports* (Johnson, 1963). $4.95. The history of American Negro athletes—who they were and what they accomplished. High School.

Fiction and Short Stories

COLMAN, HILA. *The Girl From Puerto Rico* (Morrow, 1961). $3.25. Another charming story—this time of a girl living in a big city. High School.

EDELL, CELESTE. *A Present From Rosita* (Messner, 1952). $2.95. The story of a girl from Puerto Rico and her happy adjustment in the city. Junior High School.

GRAHAM, LORENZ. *South Town* (Follett, 1958). $3.50. A teenage Southern Negro boy who dreams about becoming a doctor, but has his hopes almost shattered by community racial tension. Junior High School.

HEUMANN, WILLIAM. *City High Five* (Dodd, 1964). $3.25. A Puerto Rican boy helps his team win the city basketball championship. Junior High School.

HULL, ELEANOR. *Papi* (Friendship, 1953). $2.00. The story of a boy living in Spanish Harlem. Junior High School.

JACKSON, JESSE. *Anchor Man* (Harper, 1947). $2.00. A white and Negro youth attend high school together and face many problems. Junior High School.

KELLEY, WILLIAM. *A Different Drummer* (Doubleday, 1962). $3.95. The story of what happens when the people of a small southern community discover that all the Negroes have left. Junior High School.

LEXAU, JOAN M. *Jose's Christmas Secret* (Dial, 1963). $2.95. A charming tale about a boy who wants "desperately to buy a very special present for his mother." Junior High School.

MCFADDEN, DOROTHY LAO. *Growing Up In Puerto Rico* (Silver-Burdette, 1958). $2.75. Short stories about what it is like to live in Puerto Rico. Junior High School.

MANNING, JACK. *Young Puerto Rico* (Dodd, 1962). $3.00. Children at work and play in Puerto Rico. Junior High School.

MEANS, FLORENCE. *Great Day in the Morning* (Houghton Mifflin, 1946). $3.00. A girl has to choose between two professions, teaching or nursing. Junior High School.

————. *Tolliver* (Houghton Mifflin, 1963). $3.25. The story of two college students who are in love, and their involvement in the desegregation movement. High School.

MORGAN, CAROL M. *A New Home for Pablo* (Ableland-Schuman, 1955). $2.75. How a young Puerto Rican boy learns to live in New York City. Junior High School.

NEWELL, HOPE. *A Cap for Mary Ellis* (Harper, 1953). $2.95. The story of two Negro girls who win nursing scholarships to an all-white nursing school. Junior High School.

OLSON, GENE. *The Tall One* (Dodd, 1956). $3.00. A basketball story about a boy who shows his friends how to combat prejudice. Junior High School.

PETRY, ANN. *Tituba of Salem Village* (Crowell, 1964). $3.75. The story of a slave who is also condemned as a witch in Salem in 1692. Junior High School.

WHITNEY, PHYLLIS. *Willow Hill* (McKay, 1947). $3.75. The experience of the people of Willow Hill, and the different ways they react to the building of an integrated housing project. High School.

PART FOUR

Teaching Social Studies

The authors of the six articles in this section focus their attention on two factors that have caused youngsters to become educationally disadvantaged—teacher stereotypes of the poor and the middle-class curriculum, much of which is irrelevant to students from deprived backgrounds.

Many teachers do not accept or understand the culturally different child and make no effort to build an instructional program that the child can relate to his culture and his experience. In an educational environment of this kind, the culturally different child, at best, becomes indifferent and, at worst, develops negative feelings about himself and becomes more alienated from the general culture. While these authors discuss primarily the problems of black children, the reader should remember that other culturally different children, Mexican-Americans, mountain children, and American Indians, also need programs and materials based on the principles outlined in these articles.

Running through the first two sections of the book is the underlying assumption that the typical language arts program is unsound because it is unrelated to the culture and experiences of the disadvantaged child. Some may argue that this is not necessarily a handicap for children in learning language skills because these skills need not be taught in any cultural context. However, even if there is plausibility in this argument as it relates to language arts instruction, it has none at all when we relate it to the teaching of social studies. Children are expected to learn about their culture from social studies programs and there is no educational justification for depriving the Negro or the Mexican-American child of an opportunity to learn about his culture by offering only the usual middle-class white interpretation of the various social studies. There is, further, an opportunity for middle-class teachers to provide middle-class children with information about non-middle-class cultures when a class studies Negro or Mexican American history and culture. The reader will find that learning activities suggested in these articles enable the black student to study significant problems that are meaningful to him because they grow out of current social conditions of which he is a part.

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Social Studies Education: The Elementary School Focus on the Culturally Different

EDWARD G. PONDER AND JOHN JAROLIMEK

There are two forms of the social studies: the scientific and the mythological. The scientific social studies are a practical extraction from the social sciences and history of developmental lessons whose behavioral objective is informed and responsible citizenship. The mythological social studies derive from unconscious value systems, prejudices, ethnocentricity, and blind moralizing. From these "studies" come the rationalizations for wars and cruelty to the poor. We will deal first with them.

The classroom generally puts both teacher and slum children at a disadvantage. Encountering social differences, teachers often react with both moralizing and stereotype behavior. Rigid repetition of a fruitless pattern of behavior is called "stereotyped response" by psychologists. "Their I.Q.'s and cultural levels are so low, how can we teach them?" is the formulation of a typical reaction to contact with disadvantaged children, but this reaction is often followed by the use of the lesson plans with books designed for middle-class children. In spite of their failure, middle-class oriented lessons are machine-gunned at slum children. To give you a feeling of how icy the school waters can be for slum children, we ask you to take an "I.Q." test. Developed in Watts, California, and published last year by *Jet* magazine, the Dove Counterbalance Intelligence Test was mailed to his listeners by Charles Hobson of WBAI, a non-commercial radio station, as a test of "nitty-gritty," or the social distance either real or imagined between middle-class whites and Negroes and the Watts lower-class Negroes. Here are thirteen of the twenty questions followed by answers.

1. A "Gas Head" is a person who has a _____
   (a) Fast moving car
   (b) Stable of lace
   (c) "Process"
   (d) Habit of stealing cars

2. If a man is called a "Blood," then he is a _____
   (a) Fighter

    (b) Mexican-American

    (c) Negro

    (d) Hungry Hemophile

3. In "C. C. Rider," what does "C. C." stand for? _____

    (a) Civil Service

    (b) Church Council

    (c) Country Circuit preacher
        or an old-time rambler

    (d) Country Club

    (e) "Cheatin' Charlie" (the "Boxcar Consel")

4. Cheap "chitlings" (not the kind you purchase at a frozen-food counter) will taste rubbery unless they are cooked long enough. How soon can you quit *cooking them to eat and enjoy them?*

    (a) 15 minutes

    (b) 2 hours

    (c) 24 hours

    (d) 1 week (on a low flame)

5. "Down Home" (the South) today, for the average "Soul Brother" who is picking cotton (in season) from sunup until sundown, what is the average earning (take home) for one full day?

    (a) $0.75

    (b) $1.65

    (c) $3.50

    (d) $5.00

6. Hattie Mae Johnson is on the county. She has four children and her husband is now in jail for non-support, as he was unemployed and was not able to give her money. Her welfare check is now $286.00 per month. Last night she went out with the *biggest player in town*. If she got pregnant, then nine months from now, how much more will her welfare check be?

    (a) $80.00

    (b) $2.00

    (c) $35.00

    (d) $150.00

7. "Hully Gully" came from _____

    (a) "East Oakland"

    (b) Fillmore

    (c) Watts

    (d) Harlem

8. A "handkerchief head" is _____

    (a) A cool cat

    (b) A porter

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8. A "handkerchief head" is _____

    (a) A cool cat
    (b) A porter
    (c) An "Uncle Tom"
    (d) A hoddi

9. "You've got to get up early in the morning if you want to _____"

   (a) Catch the worms
   (b) Be healthy
   (c) Try to fool me
   (d) Fare well
   (e) Be the first one on the street

10. And Jesus said, "Walk together children, _____"

    (a) Don't you get weary. There's a great camp meeting
    (b) For we shall overcome
    (c) For the family that walks together talks together
    (d) By your patience you will win your souls (Luke 21:19)
    (e) Find the things that are above, not the things that are on Earth (Col. 3:12)

11. "Money don't get everything it's true, _____"

    (a) But I don't have none and I'm so blue.
    (b) But what it don't get I can't use
    (c) So make it with what you've got
    (d) But I don't know that and neither do you

12. Which word is most out of place here?

    (a) Splib
    (b) Blood
    (c) Grey
    (d) Spook

13. Many people say "Juneteenth" (June 19) should be made a legal holiday because it was the day when _____

    (a) The slaves were freed in the USA
    (b) The slaves were freed in Texas
    (c) The slaves were freed in Jamaica
    (d) The slaves were freed in California
    (e) Booker T. Washington died

ANSWERS: 1. (c); 2. (c); 3. (c); 4. (c); 5. (d); 6. (c); 7. (c); 8. (c); 9. (c); 10. (a); 11. (b); 12. (c); 13. (b).

Would you protest the measurement of your intellectual development in terms of your Dove score? Are you unteachable? Are you without a "culture?" Here are five more attitudes towards the disadvantaged that tend to sabotage the teaching process:

1. *The poor are lazy.* Who works "harder," you, the teacher, or a seventy-two hour a week pecan picker, a small farmer, a coal miner? Earning poverty wages, these workers have been or are being edged out by technological obsolescence, competition from giant corporations, and machinery. They are frequently forced to migrate to other areas, usually urban, in search of better opportunities that often do not exist. Laziness?

2. *The poor cannot defer gratification.* As much recent research indi-

cates,[1] self-denial by the poor brings permanent loss. A disadvantaged family is always threatened by an emergency like the wearing out of a child's only pair of shoes. Barefoot, the child cannot go to school. If the *family eats instead of buying shoes, the law against truancy will be violated.* Feasting when there is money is one form of adaptation by not denying the self immediate gratification to the life and death circumstances of inadequate resources.[2]

3. *The disadvantaged are Negro.* Twenty-two per cent of the poor in America are Negro, according to Bagdikian.[3] This is far less than even a majority of the poor although it does represent more than twice the Negro population in the total American population. Why is this so? What are the forces of the larger society that deem Negroes and other minority groups of high visibility (color) into a poverty status in disproportionate numbers?

4. *The poor are sexually promiscuous and immoral.* They have illegitimate children and should be punished for their irresponsibility. In *The Sexual Wilderness*, Vance Packard[4] states that there are just as many abortions and adoptions in the middle class as there are illegitimate births among the poor. In fact, the latter rate is declining. Think, teacher, about the secret skeletons in the closets of family members and friends and then reflect on what your community's situation would be if middle-class material resources were removed.

5. *There's plenty of work for everybody.* When the timber resources had been devoured by lumbering companies and coal became *less desirable* than oil, the economy of the Appalachian hill country collapsed. In *Night Comes to the Cumberlands*, Harry M. Caudill[5] writes that 95 to 96 per cent of high school graduates disappear forever from the hills within four years of their graduation. And when the hill country graduates reach the big city, as Caudill points out, their education is counted inadequate by urban standards, and promise of work fades. Many fail tests for factory work and must settle for the insecurities and non-growth potential of unskilled labor. The *Wall Street Journal* is planning to use not 0% but 4% as a base line for charting unemployment statistics. This voice of the financial community also is advocating a negative income tax because of the saturation of the labor market by such impersonal forces as technological changes, scarcity of retraining institutions for the technologically displaced, international economics, and population growth. Poverty is coming to be understood by business leaders as a fact of national economic life. Subsidizing the poor will shortly be recognized as the same mechanism, but at the opposite end of the continuum, as tax and

[1] Ben H. Bagdikian, *In the Midst of Plenty: the Poor in America.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1964.

[2] See Allison Davis, *Social Class Influence Upon Learning.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1948.

[3] Ben H. Bagdikian, op. cit.

[4] Vance Packard, *The Sexual Wilderness.* New York: David McKay, 1968.

[5] Harry M. Caudill, *Night Comes to the Cumberlands.* Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1963.

government contract benefits to mega-corporations. From Big Money will come the energy to end both the physical privation of the poor and the public's blind moralizing!

Martin Deutsch writes in *The Disadvantaged Child*:

> . . . for the child inadequately equipped to handle what the school has to offer, it is up to the school to offer compensatory strategies through a program of stimulation appropriate to his capabilities.[6]

The culture and learning styles of the disadvantaged can be used as vehicles for social studies teaching and learning. Every skill, law, or background material must be taught in terms of the child's culture. The curriculum must offset the humiliation he has learned as a member of a rejected group. As Jules Henry writes in *Culture Against Man*:

> . . . humiliation, since it saps the ability to believe in one's self, impairs perception. Inwardly, such a person always asks, 'Is this rock indeed a rock; this chair a chair? How can I, who am nothing, perceive anything?' Thus humiliation erodes the capacity to learn, and one who has suffered massive doses of it cannot believe the ground is firm beneath his feet.[7]

The following strategies employed in a social studies program may help build pupil ego strength and cognitive skills, encourage parents and community people to participate in the school program, develop parents' skills in dealing with the power structure, and build meaningful relationships with the "comfortable majority":

1. Maintain a cool, businesslike, and positive attitude in a classroom run by rules agreed on by both teacher and pupils. *The permissive classroom*," as Kenneth Clark writes in the *Dark Ghetto*, "was not invented for the disadvantaged child."[8] For the sake of the children's ego and cognitive development, a demanding environment may be said by some to be best. However, it should be understood that the "permissive classroom" and a "demanding environment" are not incompatible concepts. How might the two be interrelated?

2. Use yourself as little as possible as the direct fount of instruction. *Release children and help them develop into independent and active thinkers and learners. Top priority should be given to the life experiences of the children as the base from which social studies thought, both historical and contemporary, is to be developed.* Careful attention should be given to selected films, filmstrips, photographs, reading resources, human resources, and the like. When selecting and using human resources, it should be kept in mind that some individuals may be ineffective in communicating to disadvantaged children even though they are of the same racial and/or ethnic background and who at one time were considered to be disadvantaged or poverty stricken.

⁶ Martin Deutsch, *The Disadvantaged Child*. New York: Basic Books, 1967.
⁷ Jules Henry, *Culture Against Man*. New York: Random House, 1963.
⁸ Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965.

In addition, you as teacher must be able to "read" your class as to the timing of appropriate strategies when using either human or mass media resources. For example, we saw a group of sixth grade lower-class Negro boys reject an N.A.A.C.P. speaker who, in telling them of the value of "getting smart," described the cabbage-eating poverty of his childhood and the fight he had with his junior high school vocational counselor who had wanted the speaker to take a vocational course. Looking prosperous in an expensive suit, the speaker, a Ph.D. in chemistry, stood before the group of boys, and they didn't believe him. When the same group of boys was shown the Urban League's film *Morning for Jimmy* with the same message, they asked and got to see it nine times. Jimmy is a young Negro boy who becomes indifferent to school after he is passed up for a summer job, apparently because of his race. The three generations in his household—his grandfather, his mother and father, and his sister—disagree about his course of action. In the end, guided by his teacher, Jimmy is re-animated by visits with successful Negroes. The persistent and rapt interest evoked by this film illustrates one of the many sources that contradict the well-known "short attention span" stereotype of the disadvantaged.

While it is not possible to ascertain from the foregoing example, with its limited information, why the speaker didn't "turn on" the boys, it does force us as teachers to probe more deeply into our own insights as to the social realities of the time. We might ask ourselves: How do these children and the community of which they are a part view the social revolution taking place in contemporary society? What knowledge have we of the social, political, and economic forces operative within ghettos? How are these forces operative in relation to those of the mainstream and "the establishment?" What preparation ought we consider in working with both the class and the human resources to be provided for the class? It seems evident that we as teachers must have a firm grasp of social understandings to help children develop insights and strategies to test out in their attempts to deal with problems in the society of which they are a part.

3. Instruction in the social studies, which takes into account the realities of the society in which instruction is carried on, must consider the facts of social change and the contradictions of modern society. It must also provide more concrete methods for giving the pupils acquaintance with the social order rather than giving merely descriptive and conceptual information about it. In light of this, what are we teaching—or not teaching—our children about war and social inequality? In simpler societies or even in the western world during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, society rested on an agrarian base and the mechanisms of social and economic life were relatively simple and easy to understand. But with the growth of technology and the introduction of an increasingly complex system of production and mass urbanization, the social relations among individuals have become more and more complicated.

4. Keep the class moving and actively involved as individuals and groups

whether in the classroom or on a field experience. To make social studies concepts come alive, it seems of critical importance to make use of both the community from which the pupils come as well as the larger community. Herein also lie tremendous opportunities to involve parents of the children and other adult human resources of the community. Might pupils interview parents and other adults on topics about which they (the adults) are knowledgeable? Might these adults interact with pupils and teachers in the classroom? Might parents and other adults be invited on field experiences with the class? Field experiences provide excellent opportunities to explore social studies concepts in light of contemporary society. With paraprofessionals arriving on the school scene, might we re-think deployment of staff and utilize more flexible administrative strategies to make field experiences possible for the children?

5. Establish with your class mutual learning relationships with representatives of the majority culture on a consistent, well-defined, and planned basis. These contacts can be with other classes representing pupils of a different social class or racial and ethnic backgrounds; or with objects of television stations, fire stations, theatrical groups, and the like. Stress should be on providing opportunities for the differing socio-economic status groups to get to "know it like it is" on an equal basis. This would seem critical in helping the disadvantaged children or lower socio-economic status groups gain self-esteem within their reference group, and beyond their reference group, into the mainstream of society. Equally important, children and adults from a more favorable social class status, through systematically planned experiences not heretofore available to them, should gain deeper insights and realistic perceptions of children and adults from less favorable social class status, particularly if they are of racial minority group backgrounds.[9]

6. Provide opportunities for the children to engage in role playing and creative dramatics. These strategies are useful in working with both younger and older children when they are learning to deal with social studies problem situations that are historical and/or contemporary. Children can create and act out plays about community life, as well as racial, ethnic, or occupational group history. Situational open-ended problem solving should also be encouraged.

7. Be relevant. Involve the children in constructive community activities and studies. If you are teaching the law of supply and demand, for example, include discussions about *boycotts.* Have the children "case" the buying power of their community in both community and outside businesses. Involve the children also in discussions on the Great Protests by which all segments of the disadvantaged populations, national and international, are asserting themselves.

8. Involve parents in the education of their children. Plan with parents to organize systematic meetings on specific parent concerns—educational,

⁹ See Alice Miel, *Shortchanged Children in Suburbia.* New York: Institute of Human Relations Press, 1967.

political, social, economic. Help parents learn ways of gaining information and assessing different points of view on contemporary societal issues. Organize with children a way of helping parents and community people become better acquainted with the life and facilities of their own community and the community at large.

It seems that we had just become well versed in the "Culture of Poverty" when it became a "Culture of Protest." No longer is it possible to live as if the poor did not exist. And no longer do the poor blame themselves for their situation. Television has unmasked both classes to each other. Viewing nightly the stereotyped representation or absence of their own reference groups from the screen and the idealized life of affluence in the intimacy of their living quarters, the poor have been educated in what they have been missing. The affluent have also been given numerous opportunities to see the poor and disadvantaged on their television screens, in the intimacy of their living quarters; documentaries have guided them through the schoolrooms, hospitals, slums, farmlands, and in-the-streets protests of the poor.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, the eminent black psychologist, while definitely not recommending riots, did warn his colleagues about their blind spots.[10] Teachers may well take note also of frustration-building responses to the socalled disadvantaged. To help them fulfill their potentials and aspirations, teachers of social studies must unlearn mythology, learn the cultures of the lower-class populace, and devise ways of building in them both pride in their own cultures and bridges to the great American mainstream social order.

⚙ Relevant Social Studies for Black Pupils

JAMES A. BANKS

... the negro race is inferior to the white race, and living in their midst, they would be far outstripped or outwitted in the chase of free competition. Gradual but certain extermination would be their fate.[1]

A class of seventh grade black pupils was confronted with this argument as they analyzed a series of historical documents that their teacher had duplicated for their study. The document from which this statement was taken, like the other documents the pupils studied, was slightly edited and simplified so that they could read it more easily. Another document that the pupils read stated:

... (Negroes) were born slaves of barbarian masters, untaught in all of the useful arts and occupations, reared in heathen darkness, and sold by heathen masters. ... They were transferred to shores enlightened by rays of Christianity.[2]

The pupils also read a letter written by a Virginia slave owner to his sister about a slave named Polly. It said in part:

... On last Monday week, I had to whip Polly for her impudence to me. ... I regret it very much but there must be one master in a family or there ean be no peace. I told her that she should never be sold ... provided she would behave herself ... she still tells me that she is perfectly willing to be sold.[3]

Another account told about an overseer who was called Mr. Severe:

Mr. Severe was rightly named; he was a cruel man. I have seen him whip a woman, causing the blood to run half an hour at the time; and this, too, in the midst of her crying children, pleading for their mother's release. ...[4]

Reprinted with permission from *Social Education*, Volume 33 (January 1969), pp. 66–69.
[1] George Fitzhugh, "Negro Slavery." *American Issues: The Social Record*. Merle Curti, Willard Thorp, and Carlos Baker, editors. New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1960, p. 522.
[2] Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. New York: Crowell Collier & Macmillan, 1961, p. 329.
[3] See Vincent R. Rogers, "Using Source Materials with Children." *Social Education* 24:307–309, 1960.
[4] Frederick Douglass, "The Plight of the Slaves." *The Negro in American Life: Selected Readings*. Richard C. Wade, editor. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965, p. 27.

In addition to reading primary sources, the pupils studied excerpts and sections from elementary American history textbooks and from Negro history books. One of the selections read:

Being indentured servants, some of the first Negroes were later freed and given land. But Negro workers proved very valuable on plantations, and more of them were needed. Gradually, settlers came to think of Negroes not as indentured servants, but as slaves who would never be set free.[5]

Another selection noted:

One famous social scientist, Nathan Glazer, has called American slavery "the most awful the world has ever known." . . . The slave in this country had no protection from society.[6]

The class read a selection from another book that included this statement:

. . . in the sale of slaves there was the persistent practice of dividing families. Husbands were separated from wives, and mothers were separated from their children. There was never any respect shown for the slave family.[7]

The pupils read *I, Juan de Pareja* by Elizabeth B. De Trevino, *Up From Slavery* by Booker T. Washington, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* by James Weldon and Rosamond Johnson, and *Amos Fortune, Free Man* by Elizabeth Yates. In her poignant yet inspiring biography, Miss Yates tells the story of an African prince who was captured at the age of fifteen and enslaved in America. The author relates how Amos Fortune withstood his torture, turned hostility into humility, and dedicated his life to bringing freedom to others after forty-five years of servitude. The book vividly depicts the horrors of slavery and the dehumanization of the slaves by the early American slave traders.

The pupils pondered a poem by Phillis Wheatley who tells about her own slavery in the United States. It begins:

No more America in mournful strain
Of wrongs, and grievance unredress'd complain,
No longer shall thou dread the iron chain,
Which wanton Tyranny with lawless hand
Has made, and which it meant t' enslave the land.[8]

The pupils read the primary sources, the sections from history books, and the biographical and fictional works to help them solve the problem that

[5] An excerpt from a fifth grade American history textbook.

[6] James A. Banks, *Black Americans: A History for Young People*. Palo Alto: Fearon Publishers (in press).

[7] John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967, pp. 178–179.

[8] From "Phillis Wheatley's Poem on Her Own Slavery." *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History*. William L. Katz, editor. New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967, p. 39.

they had identified, "What was black slavery like in the United States?"
Their teacher had helped them define their problem in clear, specific terms.
The class, with the teacher's guidance, formulated specific questions related
to their central problem. These are some of the questions:

How were the slaves treated?
How did people who were not slaves feel about slavery?
How did slavery in the United States compare with slavery in other parts of the
world?
How hard did the slaves have to work?
How did master and slave feel toward each other?
Did slaves ever try to escape?

After the pupils had identified their problem and formulated specific
questions related to it, the teacher asked them to tell what black slavery was
like in the United States. They had picked up ideas about black slavery from
textbooks used in previous grades, from biographical and fictional works they
had read, from the mass media, and from discussions they had heard about
slavery from their parents and grandparents. The pupils had many erroneous
notions about slavery, as revealed below:

Many slaves were happy and contented.
While a few slaves were treated badly, most were well treated.
Most slaves worked on large plantations rather than on small farms.
Everyone except slave owners was against slavery.
Slavery in the United States was just like slavery in other parts of the world.

After they had told the teacher about their notions of black slavery, the
pupils read the series of documents and selections their teacher had duplicated
and searched for other sources in the school and room libraries. They viewed
several films and filmstrips on black slavery, told about accounts of slavery
that had been handed down in their families, and role-played a slave auction
and the Vesey slave rebellion.

As the class evaluated the selections, they encountered highly divergent
and conflicting accounts of slavery. In one source they read that slaves were
"enlightened by rays of Christianity"; in another they read that compared
with other slavery systems, "American slavery was the worst." It is difficult to
accept both of these statements as historical facts. The pupils felt that if
black slavery in North America was "the most awful in the world," slaves were
not "enlightened by rays of Christianity." Ascertaining the validity and relia-
bility of the sources proved most challenging for the pupils. With the
teacher's guidance, the class formulated a list of questions that they used as a
guide in ascertaining the value of the various sources in helping them to dis-
cover what black slavery was *really* like in America. They asked such
questions as:

In what region of the country did the author live?
For what purpose was the author writing?
What audience did the author have in mind?

What were the author's probable biases?

What were the author's training and qualifications?

When was the document or selection written (approximate year)?

Does the author often use emotionally laden words?

How does his account compare with others that we have read?

Does the author cite sufficient evidence to support his conclusions?

Does the author base his arguments on fact or opinion?

What was the author's social class?

What was the author's race?

What are the author's basic assumptions about slavery?

What are the author's basic assumptions about black people?

Are the author's assumptions grounded in facts?

After answering these kinds of questions about the sources they had read, the pupils were able to generalize about the nature of history and the extent to which history has been written to support racist views. They concluded that because the historian can never discover all of the information about any single event or present all of the data that he uncovers, he must use some criterion for selection. They discovered that his selection is influenced by his personal bias, his purposes for writing, and by the society and times in which he lives and works. The discrepancies found in the accounts of black slavery that the pupils read were classical illustrations of the impact of cultural, racial, and regional influences on written history.[9]

The teacher in our example used the topic of slavery to help his black pupils develop inquiry and problem-solving skills. These skills enable black children to learn the truth about themselves, the contributions that their people have made to American life, and how history was written for years to justify, rationalize, and perpetuate racial myths that portrayed the Negro as a cruel, ruthless savage who was content in his misery. The writing of U. B. Phillips and Jefferson Davis epitomized racism in history. When black pupils gain critical insights into the nature of history as a discipline, they are able to understand why the achievements of their people are often omitted in books, and why Negroes are frequently treated in a patronizing, stereotypic fashion in textbooks. Equipped with this understanding and awareness, black pupils are better able to mitigate their feelings of worthlessness and to develop more positive self-images. Research has documented the fact that black youngsters typically have ambivalent racial attitudes, low self-images, and low occupational aspirations. Social studies teachers should implement strategies to help black pupils perceive themselves and their racial group more positively and realistically.

In addition to developing critical insights into the nature of historiography, black pupils need to make a realistic appraisal of the nature of the social conditions confronting them.[10] They should be guided to inquire into

    [9] James A. Banks and Ernon O. Hogan, "Inquiry: An Important Tool in Teaching History." *Illinois Schools Journal* Vol. 48 (Fall 1963), pp. 176-180.
    [10] David C. Epperson, "Making Social Critics of Disadvantaged Children." *The Social Studies* 35:52, 1966.

the problems of racial discrimination, the meaning and social functions of the concept of "race," and the struggle that ensues when one race dominates others in a society. Black pupils need to learn the real reasons why they are poor, full of self-hate, and possess hostility that sometimes explodes in the ghetto streets. They should understand that they are not poor because they possess certain deficient traits but because they are victims of a racist society. Without this understanding, black youth will feel that the social conditions they endure are morally justified. Clark writes:

> Children who are consistently rejected understandably begin to question and doubt whether they, their family, and their group really deserve no more respect from the larger society than they receive.[11]

James Baldwin illuminated the need for this kind of instruction when he wrote

> . . . I would try to teach them—I would try to make them know—that those streets, those houses, those dangers, those agonies by which they are surrounded, are criminal. I would try to make each child know that these things are the results of a criminal conspiracy to destroy him. I would teach him that if he intends to get to be a man, he must at once decide that he is stronger than this conspiracy and that he must never make his peace with it.[12]

Inquiries into black power, poverty, racism, the black revolt, and historical reactions to oppression should characterize social studies for black pupils. Social studies teachers must help the black child become a social critic so that he can ". . . develop critical awareness of the immorality of his condition."[13]

Black children should not only inquire into the problems of racism in history books and into the problems of institutional racism in our society, they should be introduced to the achievements of individual black heroes who have made outstanding contributions to American life. When the Spanish explorers are studied, pupils can be introduced to the black men who accompanied the first Spanish explorers to the New World. Children will be surprised to learn about the thirty black men who were with Balboa when he discovered the Pacific Ocean. They will also be intrigued by black men such as Estavancio who was a guide for Naveza and Cabeza de Vaca. Estavancio, in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola, never reached his destination but was the first man, except for the natives, to behold what is now the state of New Mexico. When studying about Columbus's voyages, children can be introduced to Pedro Alonzo Niño, a black man who navigated one of Columbus's ships when he sailed to the New World. During a study of the Revolutionary

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[11] Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto.* New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1965. pp. 63–67.

[12] James Baldwin, "A Talk to Teachers." *Saturday Review,* December 21, 1963, pp. 42–43.

[13] Epperson, *op. cit.,* p. 51.

Period famous Negroes such as Benjamin Bannaker, the mathematician and inventor, could be studied.[14]

One teacher used a creative approach with disadvantaged fourth grade black pupils. Using the book *Great Negroes Past and Present*,[15] he rewrote and duplicated the biography of one famous Negro each day along with discussion questions and study exercises. As each great Negro was studied, his picture was placed on the bulletin board. At the end of the unit the portraits of all the Negroes under study were displayed.[16] Then each child chose one Negro who he wanted to portray in a pageant that they wrote and presented to the school assembly. For his part each child dramatized a significant event in the life of a famous Negro whom he had studied in depth. For example, the boy who portrayed Crispus Attucks shouted, "Don't be afraid!" and fell on the stage dramatizing the killing of Attucks at the Boston Massacre, the first man to die for independence. The child who portrayed Harriet Tubman said, "You'll be free or die," dramatizing the way Harriet Tubman forced slaves to escape and join the Underground Railroad. The children also made a mural chronicling the roles that great black Americans have played in the building of this country since they landed on American shores in 1619. They called their mural "They Showed The Way."

The unit was correlated with the other learning areas so that when a famous Negro such as Gwendolyn Brooks was studied, her book of poetry *Bronzeville Boys And Girls* was read along with her biography. When Duke Ellington, Aretha Franklin, and Marian Anderson were studied, the class listened to their records. During the unit many children also read longer biographies of famous Negroes that were borrowed from the school or public libraries.

The teacher's attitudes toward the black child, his perceptions of black history and culture, and his expectations for the child are more important than the materials and methods that he uses. As Cuban insightfully notes:

Less attention should be paid to additional books and courses . . . and more to the craftsman who will use the tools. Preachers of Black History know that the person is far more important than the materials he uses.[17]

Much research indicates that teachers typically have negative attitudes toward poor and black youth. Gottlieb found that white teachers described Negro

14 James A. Banks, *Teaching about the Negro and Race Relations.* Palo Alto: Fearon Publishers (in press).

15 Russell L. Adams, *Great Negroes Past and Present.* Chicago: Afro-Am Publishing Company, 1964.

pupils as talkative, lazy, fun-loving, high-strung, and rebellious.[18] Becker interviewed teachers in an urban school system who felt that slum children were difficult to teach, uncontrollable, and morally unacceptable on all scores from physical cleanliness to the spheres of sex and ambition to get ahead.[19] It is imperative that teachers develop more *positive attitudes* toward black pupils and their culture if they are to play effective roles in helping these youngsters develop more positive racial attitudes and self-images. This is true because children can accurately perceive the teacher's attitudes, and because teachers are "significant others" for all children. In our society we acquire identity from other human beings who are "significant" to us and incorporate it within ourselves. We validate our identity through the evaluations of those who are influential in our lives. A study by David and Long indicates that the assessment a child makes of himself is related to the assessment "significant people" make of him. The study showed that a pupil's self-appraisal is significantly related to his perceptions of his teacher's feelings.[20]

Social studies teachers must also develop *higher expectations* for black and poor youngsters. Research indicates that teachers typically expect little from the urban poor child. Teacher expectations function as a self-fulfilling prophecy. The seminal research by Rosenthal and Jacobson illuminates the cogent impact that teacher expectations have on pupil achievement. These researchers selected a random sample of elementary school children and told their teachers that these pupils were potential "spurters." At the end of the year when they were tested, they evidenced unusually high intellectual gains. Write the authors, "The results indicated strongly that children from whom teachers expected greater intellectual gains showed such gains."[21]

A "New Negro" is in the making, one who is trying to reject his old identity, shaped to a large extent by white society, and to create a new one. This "New Negro" is wearing African tikis, sandals, and costumes. He is screaming for "Black Power" and fighting to gain control of his schools, communities, and his destiny.[22] Social studies teachers must promote this identity quest by encouraging black pupils to inquire into the extent to which racism has permeated our written history and our society, to become familiar with the contributions that black people have made to American life, and by developing more positive attitudes and higher expectations for black youth.

[18] David Gottlieb, "Teaching and Students: The Views of Negro and White Teachers," *Sociology of Education* 37:245–253, 1964.

[19] Howard S. Becker, "Career Patterns of Public School Teachers," *Journal of Sociology* 57:470–477, 1952.

[20] Helen H. Davidson and Gerhard Lang, "Children's Perceptions of Teachers' Feelings toward Them Related to Self-Perception, School Achievement and Behavior," *Journal of Experimental Education* 29:107–118, 1960.

[21] Robert Rosenthal and Lenore F. Jacobsen, "Teacher Expectations for the Disadvantaged," *Scientific American* 218:19–23, 1968.

[22] James A. Banks, "A Profile of the Black American: Implications for Teaching," *College Composition and Communication*, Vol. 19 (December 1968), pp. 288–296.

Making the social studies curriculum more relevant for the black pupil is imperative if we are to help mitigate the mounting racial crisis in our cities and help the black child gain a more positive "self."

✿ The Black Man's Contribution to Social Change

DOLORES COOPER

Both black and white teachers need to realize that black children today are more race-conscious than they have ever been. Teachers need to know how children, both black and white, feel about today's race problems. This insight can lead to fruitful understanding, comprehension, and tolerance on the part of both teachers and pupils.

As teachers, we should help each child recognize his feelings and help him express them without guilt or shame.

Historical Perspective

Social change in the New World began when twenty blacks stepped off a Dutch man-o'-war in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619 and America inherited a new breed of people. The system of slavery that arose at that time was destined to strain the very foundations of American democratic ideology. Its results are still to be reckoned with in the present-day ills of our society. Even while whites were holding blacks enslaved, Patrick Henry, speaking before the Virginia Provincial Convention and urging them to arm the militia against the British, could say: "Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? . . . I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

Political uprising and rebellion were the order of the day. Paul Revere and Joseph Warren were organizing vigilance committees, others were circulating letters informing people that their rights were being abused, and still others were physically defending America. One of them was Crispus Attucks, a black runaway slave who died in the Boston Massacre, the first to give his life that this new country might be free.

Problem: Encourage children to read the biography of Crispus Attucks, or read chapters aloud to them. Let them try to decide why he was demanding something for his country that he himself did not possess.

Once the American Revolution fanned the fires of freedom, black men began to ask about their freedom. Many Negroes were free Negroes, but not free men.

Problem: Children must understand the difference. Don't try for a quick

explanation. Take as long as necessary to list examples that explain this concept.

The cause of the Negro became the cause of a nation and a world. Children think that men have made history. They should also consider how history has made men. Without the plight and misery of the black man there would have been no William Lloyd Garrison, no Frederick Douglass, no Abraham Lincoln, no Harriet Tubman, and no Harriet Beecher Stowe. The black man would affect the history of America for many years to come, even as he is doing today. Children should recognize the influence of the black man in the making of the Republican Party in 1860, in the election of Lincoln, in the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, and in other more current events.

Problem: What references can children find of the Negro's influence in social change throughout our history? Do they show the Negro or white man's point of view?

Frederick Douglass wrote in 1863 that "The term Negro is at this hour the most pregnant word in the English language. The destiny of the nation has the Negro for its pivot and turns upon the question as to what shall be done with him (and for him). Peace and war, union and disunion, salvation and ruin, glory and shame, all crowd upon our thoughts the moment this word is pronounced."

Problem: Discuss the contemporary aspects of these words that Douglass uttered more than a hundred years ago. How do they apply to the black man today? Compare the Douglass quotations with those of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Early in the twentieth century, black leaders realized that the Negro was getting nowhere fast. They saw that they had to do more to hasten the equality which Jefferson had declared, and that the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments should have settled long before.

W. E. B. DuBois was one of the forerunners of black militancy. He attacked the philosophy of Booker T. Washington, denying that Negroes should be docile and subordinate. DuBois believed that the black man must demand and get every civil, social, and political right.

Problem: Let children explore how the black man is demanding civil rights today. Let them evaluate what courses of action they think are best and why.

White people say Tommie Smith and John Carlos acted disgracefully during presentations of the Olympic medals. What was the reason for their conduct? What could they have done instead?

Any study of black or white leadership shows that dissenters and rioters helped build our nation. Dissension, rebellion, and protest are age-old ways of getting things done. The Whiskey Rebellion in 1794 almost led to secession and was a severe test of our Federal government. Nat Turner's Revolt and its tragic results led to the first severe black codes.

Problems: Does protest always lead to rebellion? What are black men

trying to say? Will black protest today become a revolution tomorrow? What has brought about the waves of protest today? Is it because America has glorified crime, poor housing, low living standards, freedom in theory only, broken promises, or is it a combination of many things?

White persons can only partially understand and identify with the trials and conflicts which exist among black Americans. Only in part do they understand how black people feel, as summed up in this verse by Langston Hughes:

I still cannot see why democracy means Everybody but me.

Problem: Children should read the poems and prose of black men and women today. What is the mood of the black man? What bonds does he feel toward the new African countries? Analyze such statements as the above in classroom discussions and apply them in situations real to the children.

In December, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, Mrs. Rosa Parks sparked a revolution which sounded around the world, when she refused to move and sit at the rear of the bus. "When Momma Parks sat down the world stood up. We shall not be moved," wrote Nick Venet and Buddy Mize in the "Ballad of Momma Rosa Parks."

Black men and women had begun a new activism. "They walked in Montgomery, rode Freedom buses in Mississippi, sat in Birmingham, and marched in Washington," wrote Harry Fleischman.

Whites were shocked out of their apathy, and many joined the pro-testers. Black men said, "If federal officials can protect the rights of white men, they can protect the rights of black men; if they can defend the rights of America abroad, they can defend them at home; . . . The only trouble is the will! the will! Here, as elsewhere, 'Where there is a will there is a way.'"

The Search for Identity

Black Americans in recent decades have developed a new image of themselves, and a new pride in their racial heritage. The Supreme Court decided in 1954 against "separate but equal" schools. Combined with the work of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the rise of black groups of various kinds, it aroused black men in America and such slogans were heard as "Black Power!" "Freedom Now!" "We'll not wait, we've waited too long already," "Black Supremacy," and "We shall overcome."

For many years black leaders had emphasized the need for money and education. Black men amassed hundreds of thousands of dollars, but they were limited in what this money could buy. Could it purchase an equal education?

Problem: Let children think of other examples of things money could not buy for the black people. Could it buy the freedom and equal oppor-tunity that they wanted most? In 1866 Frederick Douglass said in a letter,

"*Though no longer bought and sold in the market, we are still a proscribed, oppressed and maltreated race at nearly all points.*" Evaluate the timeliness of that statement today. Is it still true?

In recent years, though the black man has felt even greater frustration, he has found a closer bond in such expressions as "Soul Brother," "Afro-Americanism," and "Black and Beautiful." Today's black man is not content to be free unless his brothers all over this land are free too. Douglass envisioned this when he wrote, "It is more than a mere figure of speech to say that [Negroes] are as a people chained together. We are one people—one in general complexion, one in common degradation, one in popular estimation. As one rises, all must rise, and as one falls, all must fall. . . . Every one of us should be ashamed to consider himself free, while his brother is a slave. . . . There should be no time too precious, no calling too holy, no place too sacred, to make room for the cause."

Black Organizations and Leaders

In the black man's urgent reach for equality, he must look to black leaders. Yet the leaders themselves have split a dozen different ways, with many divergent views. The two most competitive forces in the civil rights movement are the moderates and the militants.

Representative of the moderates are Roy Wilkins, former executive director of the NAACP, and Whitney Young, Jr., executive director of the Urban League. These organizations have sought peaceful and legal means to redress the black man's grievances.

The NAACP has always used the courts. This can best be seen in the death of the "separate but equal" law. Thurgood Marshall, attorney for the organization (and later the first black man to be appointed a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court), and Kenneth B. Clark worked tirelessly to provide the research which contributed to the landmark Supreme Court decision of 1954 banning segregation in public education.

Problem: Children should learn more about the successes of the NAACP in the courts and in Congress through lobbying. Literature describing its work is available. Children can design bulletin boards depicting the various civil rights organizations and showing their leaders. They can summarize how each is trying to attain its goals.

The Urban League, under the leadership of its executive director, Whitney Young, Jr., does not protest openly and is seldom in the limelight.

Problem: Children can explore why. It related to the way the organization is funded, its membership, and its original purpose.

It was Young, however, who proposed a "domestic Marshall Plan," publicized as Johnson's War on Poverty, in which black men have a special interest. The program is for all Americans, but because black people have so long been deprived of the kind of help it renders, they benefit proportion-

ately more from such projects as Head Start, Neighborhood Tap Centers, and Job Opportunity.

Problem: Children should discover why these programs are particularly welcomed by the black community. Some children can report from experience how these projects affect them and their families.

The militants are headed by H. Rap Brown, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC, pronounced "snick"), and Stokely Carmichael, former SNCC chairman. They are both on record as saying that violence is the only effective means of winning equality, although more recently Mr. Brown has questioned its effectiveness.

Carmichael works closest to the poor black man in the deep South. He says this is "where the action is." To him black people need to gain power by organizing and pooling their resources.

Floyd McKissick is the present coordinator of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Under its former leader, James Farmer, CORE conducted sit-ins, ride-ins, and many other confrontations. It also began a drive to organize the Negro vote. This group is no longer as active as it once was.

Problem: Let children research to find out why.

No talk of the civil rights movement would be complete without consideration of the doctrine of nonviolence taught by Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, now carried on by Ralph Abernathy and Mrs. Coretta King. Since the day King was felled by an assassin's bullet, there are those who question whether nonviolence can survive. In the words of Langston Hughes:

> "There's liable to be confusion
> When a dream gets kicked around."

Problem: Give children an opportunity to express their feelings about nonviolence. Many of them would return violence for violence. Point out that many nonviolent demonstrators felt the same way, and had to go through an extensive program of training to change their attitudes. Scrapbooks about civil rights movements and their leaders make an excellent basis for reports and panel discussions:

John H. Johnson, president of Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., is one of the most successful businessmen in America. He is the director of a bank, director of a savings and loan association, director of an insurance company, and editor and publisher of *Ebony, Negro Digest, Tan,* and *Jet* magazines. He has gone on goodwill tours for the U.S. under three presidents, and is trustee of Tuskegee Institute and Fisk University, vice-president of the National Urban League and vice-chairman of the Supreme Life Insurance Company of America. He was voted one of the ten outstanding young men of the year by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce.

Carl T. Rowan was the first Negro in U.S. history to sit in on the Cabinet meetings of a president. He was appointed director of the U.S. Information Agency by President Johnson in 1964, and sat in on the policy

sessions of the government at the highest level. He is also a syndicated news columnist.

Emmett Chappelle suggested a solution to the problem of carbon monoxide in spaceships, through his study of Chlorella, a common form of algae which has the ability to convert carbon monoxide.

Melba L. Roy is a mathematician and programmer whose job it is to keep space vehicles in their correct orbital path.

Men like Gordon Parks, James Baldwin, Lerone Bennett, and hundreds of others are examples that black boys and girls can aspire to be like, and that white children can appreciate.

Black Power

Children should be made aware that terms like "Black Power" have different meanings to different persons and when used in different situations.

Roy Wilkins says that Black Power means "separatism . . . wicked fanaticism . . . ranging race against race . . . in the end only black death."

Martin Luther King, Jr., said, "The Negro is in dire need of a sense of dignity and a sense of pride, and I think Black Power is an attempt to develop pride. And there's no doubt about the need for power—he can't get into the mainstream of society without it. But the use of the phrase Black Power gives the feeling that the Negro can go it alone and that he doesn't need anybody but himself. We have to keep remembering that we are only 10 or 11 percent of the population."

Floyd McKissick says, "Black Power is no mere slogan . . . it is a drive to mobilize the black communities . . . the only way to achieve meaningful change."

College, Pittsburgh, discussed how they can better meet the needs of the black community. Sister Martin de Porres, named for the first black Catholic saint, believes that it is crucial for white sisters and black sisters to understand that racism does exist in the church, and to try to change the attitudes of the white community. She believes that black sisters should be given more power in black communities.

There is also a trend toward black businesses. The black businessman realizes that the black man remains his primary customer, but that he can enlarge his field.

Problem: Children can investigate businesses in the United States that are owned by black people.

Even as the black man seeks to better the world for his children, the words of Frederick Douglass must echo from the very heart of our riot-torn cities. "The American people have this lesson to learn: That where justice is denied, here poverty is enforced, where ignorance prevails, and where any one class is made to feel that society is an organized conspiracy to oppress, rob, and degrade them, neither persons nor property will be safe. . . . Hungry men will eat. Desperate men will commit crime. Outraged men will seek revenge."

Culminating activities: Learn, sing, and analyze songs of the civil rights movement, such as: "Blowing in the Wind," "Oh, Freedom," "Pass It On," and others. Or develop a Negro History corner that depicts highlights of the black man in American history. Use books, magazines, maps, newspaper clippings, pictures, biographies, and other appropriate materials such as those listed below.

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AFRO-AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Resource materials from three companies especially applicable to this unit are the following:

Afro-Am Publishing Company, 1727 South Indiana Street, Chicago, Illinois 60620:

Great Negroes Past and Present (book of biographies).

The Meeting (one-act play).

Modern Negro Contributors; Negroes in Our History; Negroes of Achievement, 1865–1915 (3 sets of 24 display prints each).

Buckingham Enterprises Inc., 160–08 Jamaica Ave., Jamaica, N.Y. 11432:

Dear Dr. King . . . (a tribute in words and pictures by an integrated grade school, with teacher's guide) *Afro-American Audio-Visual History and Culture Series. Kit A-1*—"Afro-Americans in Government"; *Kit A-2*—"Cultural Leaders"; *Kit A-3*—"Civil Rights Leaders" (each kit contains a teacher's manual, five 12" x 18" portraits, 35 student workbooks, 5 filmstrips, 3 long playing records).

Century Consultants, 6363 Broadway, Chicago, Illinois 60626:

Negro American Heritage by Lawrence, Randall, Endo, and McStay, with Arna Bontemps as historical editor (textbook).

BIOGRAPHICAL AV

American Negro Pathfinders (Bethune, Marshall, Randolph, Bunche, King, Davis), 6 filmstrips; Film Associates of California.

Great American Negroes, overhead transparencies, color, guide; Society for Visual Education, Inc.

Great Negro Americans (Bunche, Anderson, Bethune, Owens, Williams, Armstrong), LP album, teacher's guide; Alan Sands Productions.

Leading American Negroes, Set 242, SAR (Bethune, Carver, Smalls, Douglass, Tubman, Banneker), filmstrip, color, sd on records; Society for Visual Education, Inc.

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Negro Heroes from American History (introduction to black history in American and biographies of famous Negroes from Revolutionary War to present—Attucks, Du Sable, Beckwourth, Tubman, Smalls, Henson, Johnson, Miller), Super 8mm; International Communication Films.

Negro History, MM 43K, multimedia kit, including 7 strips, 1 book, 3 picture-display portfolios 11" x 14" in 2 colors, 6 overhead transparencies of great American Negroes; Society for Visual Education, Inc.

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Challenge of Urban Renewal, color or b/w; Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation.

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Minorities Have Made America Great, 6 strips, color, with LP records (sold only as a set); Warren Schloat Productions, Inc.

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Neighborhoods Series, color, sd or silent; Coronet Instructional Films.

People and Places, 4 strips, 2 LP's, teacher's guides, gr. 3–6; Filmstrip House.

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The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., single strip, b/w and sd; Society for Visual Education, Inc.

Robert and His Family, 4 strips in color with 2 records and 4 teacher's guides, kgu-pri; Society for Visual Education, Inc.

The Story of the Negro American from "The Story of America's People" Series 1, color with sd on Teach-A-Tape; Eye Gate House, Inc.

The Struggle for Human Rights from "Our History, 1860–1945," color; Filmstrip House.

They Have Overcome, 4 strips and 4 LP records (sold only as set); Warren Schloat Productions, Inc.

William, Andy and Ramon, and Five Friends at School (multiethnic series, color, pri-intermed; Film Associates of California.

• *Request list of integrated filmstrips* for lower elementary grades, Educational Projections Corporation.

RECORDS AND TAPES

American Negro Folk and Work Song Rhythms, LP record, sung by Ella Jenkins; and *Songs of the American Negro Slaves;* Folkways/Scholastic. Request list of other records on Negro heritage—including poets.

As the Negro Sees It, tape P 159; Doubleday and Company, Inc.

The Black Man's Struggle, 8 records or 16 tapes, gr. 4–9; H. Wilson Corporation.

The Civil War: Battles and Men, tape HG 514; Imperial International Learning.

Free at Last—Dr. Martin Luther King, tape 4415, packaged with student fact sheet, masters for spirit duplication, and King transparency; Tapes Unlimited.

Great Men and Great Issues—Reconstruction and Negro Civil Rights, 2 records or 4 tapes, gr. 5–8; H. Wilson Corporation.

The Negro-American Citizen (takes the Negro from 450 B.C. to today), series of tapes, *available soon;* Classroom World Productions.

The Quest for Freedom (Afro-American History), 12 tapes, series 4400—presenting Negroes in these categories: adventure, sports, abolition, military life, scientists, inventors, music, stage, screen, education, government, writing, business; Tapes Unlimited.

Seeds of the Civil War (2 parts); *South Africa/South West Africa,* 12 tapes, each with 30 student folders, 12 activity booklets, and teacher's manual; and *The South Builds Again—A Nation Reunited,* tape HG 515; all Imperial International Learning.

Other sources of records:

- *Children's Music Center, Inc.:* recordings on Negro history and brotherhood.
- *Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation:* a record series, Nos. 5343 to 5347, on history of American black people in song and story.
- *Enrichment Teaching Materials:* record EAD, 10B, "Constitutional Amendments 13th, 14th, 15th."

MULTIMEDIA

Afro-American History, color transparencies; AEVAC.

Afro-American History Fact Pack, 35mm slides, LP record, large portrait cards, filmstrip, and history highlights guidebook; Afro-American Heritage House.

Afro-American Program, filmstrips, textbooks, and records; covers four periods of history of black people in U.S., from 1500 to present; Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation.

All Around Me from "Our Changing Cities," 46 color charts and teacher's guide; Harcourt, Brace & World.

A Better America from "Holiday Bulletin Board Ideas"; Jackson Publications.

The Black American Achievement Posters, 12" × 18", color; Hayes School Publishing Co., Inc.

The Black American, Past and Present, duplicating workbook with transparencies; Hayes School Publishing Co.

Early African Civilizations from Compile-A-Topics series; DCA Educational Products, Inc.

Makers of the U.S.A., pictorial map; Friendship Press.

The Meeting, play by Peggy Adams Osborne; Afro-Am Publishing Co. .

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Mural: A Picture History of the American Negro; Rand McNally.

The Name of the Game, a multimedia reading program for inner-city adolescents; New Dimensions in Education, Inc.

*Modern Negro Contributors; Negroes in Our History; Negroes of Achievement,
1865–1915,* 3 sets of 24 display prints each; Afro-Am Publishing Company.

Portraits of Outstanding Negroes, 24 photos 11" × 14"; Friendship Press.

ADDRESSES FOR AFRO-AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Afro-American Heritage House, 24 Whittier Drive, English Town, N.J. 07726

Afro-Am Publishing Co., 1727 S. Indiana St., Chicago, Ill. 60620

Arno Press, Inc., 330 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

Association Production Materials, 600 Madison Ave., New York 10022

Atlantis Productions, Inc., 894 Sheffield St., Thousand Oaks, Calif. 91360

Avon Books, 959 Eighth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10019

Bailey Films, Inc., 6509 DeLongpre Ave., Hollywood, Calif. 90028

Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02108

The Bellwether Co., 167 E. 67 St., New York, N.Y. 10021

Benefic Press, 10300 W. Roosevelt Rd., Westchester, Ill. 60153

Benziger Brothers, Inc., 7 E. 51 St., New York, N.Y. 10022

Bergman Publishers, 224 W. 20 Street, New York, N.Y. 10011

William C. Brown Co., Pub., 135 S. Locust St., Dubuque, Iowa 52001

Buekingham Enterprises, Inc., 160–03 Jamaica Ave., Jamaica, N.Y. 11432

Century Consultants, 6363 Broadway, Chicago, Ill. 60626

Chandler Publishing Company, 124 Spear St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105

Children's Music Center, Inc., 5373 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90019

Churchill Films, 662 N. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90069

Classroom World Productions, 516 W. 34th St., New York 10001

Concordia Publishing House, 3558 S. Jefferson Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 63118

Contemporary Films, Inc., 267 W. 25 St., New York, N.Y. 10001

Coronet Instructional Films, 65 E. South Water St., Chicago, Ill. 60601

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Crown Publishers, Inc., 419 Park Ave. S., New York, N.Y. 10016

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DCA Educational Products, Inc., 4829 Stenton Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa. 19144

Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 750 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

Des Moines Public Schools, Office of the Superintendent, Des Moines, Iowa 50301

Robert Disrach Films, P.O. Box 343, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003

Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City, N.Y. 11530

Educational Projections Corporation, 527 South Commerce St., Jackson, Miss. 39201

Encyclopaedia Britannica Educational Corporation, 425 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60611

Enrichment Teaching Materials, Inc., 246 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10001

Eye Gate House, Inc., 146–01 Archer Ave., Jamaica, N.Y. 11435

Fawcett World Library, 67 W. 44 St., New York, N.Y. 10036

Field Educational Publications, Inc., 609 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105

Film Associates of California, 11559 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90025

Filmstrip House, 432 Park Ave. S., New York, N.Y. 10016

Folkways/Scholastic Records, 906 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632

Friendship Press, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10027

Harcourt, Brace & World, 757 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

Harper & Row, Publishers, 49 E. 33 St., New York, N.Y. 10016

Harvard University Press, 79 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 02138

Hayes School Publishing Co., Inc., Dept. K, Wilkinsburg, Pa. 15221

Houghton-Mifflin Company, 2 Park St., Boston, Mass. 02107

Hudson Photographic Industries, Inc., Irvington-on-Hudson, N.Y. 10533

Imperial International Learning, 247 W. Court St., Kankakee, Ill. 60901

Indiana University Press, Tenth & Morton Sts., Bloomington, Ind. 47401

Integrated Education Associates, 343 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill. 60604

International Communication Films, 1371 Reynolds Ave., Santa Ana, Calif. 92705

Jackson Publications, Box 337, Santee, Calif. 92071

Journal Films, 909 W. Diversey Pkwy., Chicago, Ill. 60614

Little, Brown and Company, 34 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 02106

The Macmillan Company, 866 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022

McGraw-Hill Book Company and Text-Film Division, 300 W. 42 St., New York, N.Y. 10036

William Morrow & Co., Inc., 425 Park Ave. S., New York, N.Y. 10016

National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 W. 57 St., New York, N.Y. 10019

National Instruction Films, 58 East Route 59, Nanuet, N.Y. 10954

The New American Library, Inc., 1301 Ave. of the Americas, New York, N.Y. 10019

New Dimensions in Education, Inc., Long Island House, Jericho, N.Y. 11753

N.Y. City Board of Education, 110 Livingston St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201

The New York Times Filmstrips, Times Square, New York, N.Y. 10036

Pantheon Books, Inc., 437 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022

Pitman Publishing Corp., 20 E. 46 St., New York, N.Y. 10017

Popular Science Publishing Co., Educational Division, 355 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632

Publishers Co., Inc., 432 Park Ave. S., New York, N.Y. 10010

Quadrangle Books, Inc., 12 E. Delaware Place, Chicago, Ill. 60611

Rand McNally & Co., Inc., Box 7600, Chicago, Ill. 60680

Random House, Inc., 457 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022

Rural Sociology, South Dakota State University, Brookings, S.D. 57007

Alan Sands Productions, 565 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017

Warren Schloat Productions, Inc., Palmer Lane West, Pleasantville, N.Y. 10570

Scholastic Social Studies Filmstrips, 802 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 07632

Silver Burdett Co., Park Ave. & Columbia Rd., Morristown, N.J. 07960

Simon & Schuster, Inc., 630 Fifth Ave., New York, 10020

Society for Visual Education, Inc., 1345 Diversey Pkwy., Chicago, Ill. 60614

Tapes Unlimited, 13113 Puritan Ave., Detroit, Mich. 48227

Time-Life Books, Time & Life Bldg., New York, N.Y. 10020

Universal Education and Visual Arts, 221 Park Ave. S., New York, N.Y. 10003

University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif. 94720

U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 120 Alexander St., Princeton, N.J. 08540

The Viking Press, Inc., 625 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022

Vintage Books, Inc., 33 W. 60 St., New York, N.Y. 10023

H. Wilson Corporation, Educational Division, 555 W. Taft Dr., South Holland, Ill. 60473

Use of the Daily Newspaper to Teach the Culturally Disadvantaged About Government

JOHN A. GOTHBERG

"I hate school. They don't learn you nothin' here."

"Yeah, this is NOT where it's at!"

Such a conversation might be overheard in the hallways of high schools in underprivileged urban areas.

The average middle class teacher may consider the challenge of getting through to these youngsters a much too difficult assignment.

Deutsch writes that his studies indicate the disadvantaged child may develop a negative self-image through "frustration inherent in not understanding, not succeeding, and not being stimulated in school, while being regulated by it."[1]

This article will consider some ways to overcome the development of this classroom frustration in the child, particularly in the study of government.

Disadvantaged youngsters generally are concerned with the present, with concrete matters. One teacher in Oakland, California, said her ghetto class of thirty reminded her of Hawthorne's Scarlet Letter in which Hester was forced to wear the letter "A" as a mark of degradation. "These ghetto children," the teacher said, "all seem to have an X for 'reject' marked across their chests." Most of the students in this teacher's class were repeaters who had been denied graduation from high school because they had been unable to pass tests in American History and Government. A number of the children were repeating the course for the third time.

In assessing the situation it should be stressed that the culturally different child has been brought up in an environment noticeably lacking in middle class values. Until he is a teenager the child rarely leaves his neighborhood. The youngster lives in a physically oriented world with fighting all about him. His life is often cruel and hard.

The language he hears at home and in his neighborhood may be punctuated with vulgarity, a dialect children of the street often communicate

in that is only distantly related to the English of a middle class home. Much of the world of the middle class youngster will seem foreign to the culturally different child, even though such a youngster be a sixth or seventh generation American. The teacher needs to take a positive attitude toward the culture of this sub-society. His efforts to study and to understand this culture will be well repaid by the respect and increased interest of his students.

The culturally different child rather early develops a negative attitude toward American political and social institutions. These youngsters, for example, may form a dislike for the police during the preschool years. This is understandable since it is quite possible they may have observed a friend or even a family member in an unhappy encounter with law enforcement officers.

How do you teach this child to understand and to appreciate his Government? An unsupported textbook approach probably will end in failure. Youngsters often associate books with their failure. Experimentation and innovation should be the order of the day in teaching the culturally different.

For instance, the daily newspaper may be used as a supplementary textbook. The newspaper is current, readily available, and the youngsters tend to associate it with the adult world. With a jaunty air, they tuck a newspaper under an arm to read at home, although they would never be seen carrying a book. This medium provides an opportunity for the young people to discover what is happening today in their own communities. Will the City Council approve funds for that park in their neighborhood? Will anyone from their area be running for political office at the next election?

These are governmental matters that have meaning for the children. Most publishers will provide on a daily basis sufficient copies of their newspapers for all members of the class. Often the publisher will arrange to have bundles of day-old newspapers delivered to the teacher at the school. Other publishers may ask that teachers arrange to pick up the papers at the newspaper plant.

In addition to motivating the children to learn about their government, reading the newspaper in class will encourage these youngsters to develop the lifelong habit of relying upon newspapers and other periodicals for information concerning local and world affairs.

Before a class can make any meaningful use of the newspaper, the teacher needs to spend a week or two introducing the students to the medium. This may be the first time some of the students have examined the contents of a daily newspaper.

Use of the newspaper does not mean an end to the textbook in the classroom. The newspaper will motivate and provide valuable current information but should not be considered a replacement for the text. Once motivated by an article on a presidential candidate campaigning in their district, for example, the children are more ready to use the textbook for basic information about the electoral college and the mechanics of electing the president.

The newspaper may serve as a springboard again when the children read that the City Council has voted to build a zoo in their neighborhood. The next step may be a visit to a council meeting to observe their community leaders in action. After having read about the work of their councilmen, and perhaps looked at pictures of them, it can be an exciting learning experience to watch the Council firsthand.

Successful use of the daily newspaper to enrich the curriculum demands that both teacher and students become inveterate clippers and collectors of newspaper articles. The class may elect to develop clipping files on such subjects as the city council, school board, recreation district board, state legislature, courts, Congress and the President. When the class visits the newspaper plant, the students should see the morgue so they will learn how to set up their own clipping files.

From time to time newspapers publish supplements pertaining to some facet of the election or governmental process that can be set aside for reference purposes.

Getting maximum involvement in the learning process is important with the culturally different.[2] The group approach may be useful in accomplishing this purpose.

The class might be grouped on the basis of such news categories as the following: international, national, state, and local. Each of these committees, then, is responsible for clipping pictures, articles, and even cartoons, that pertain to *one* news classification. Classroom bulletin board space should be allocated so each group will have a section for telling the important news pertaining to one phase of government. Members of the committee may take turns on a weekly basis being responsible for keeping a section of the bulletin board up to date.

Five or ten minutes should be set aside daily for one committee to report to the class on news from its front. Rather than making oral reports on the news of the day, committees should be encouraged to develop creative presentations, such as dramatizing the news. One method culturally different youngsters enjoy is to pretend they are telecasting the news.

Role-playing is a form of communication that is particularly satisfying to these youngsters. In his report on "Desired Teacher Behavior in Schools for Socially Disadvantaged Children," Edmund Gordon emphasizes that the *teacher should take every opportunity to permit the children to engage in role playing when they are studying about workers in the community.*[3]

Charades can be an exciting form of role playing when reporting the news of the day. The game can serve as a simple test for determining how well class members are reading the newspaper. The committee, for example, may act out a news item or possibly even an editorial cartoon. The class

[2] Edmund W. Gordon, "Desired Teacher Behavior in Schools for Socially Disadvantaged Children," *Teachers for the Disadvantaged*, Follett Publishing Co., Chicago, 1966, p. 39.
[3] *Ibid.*

then tries to guess the news item the group is dramatizing by asking questions.

In their daily news presentations the groups should be encouraged to use audio-visual aids. A committee, for example, may wish to project on the screen cartoons relating to a coming election.

With the culturally different, units of study should be short. A unit on courts would probably run no longer than two weeks. In order that tests will not be long, the teacher might give weekly quizzes rather than examinations covering units. The teacher should involve the students in preparing the tests. When a group is to report to the class, for example, the members might prepare in advance six or eight questions from information the group plans to include in its presentation. As the teacher makes use of their questions for periodic tests, the youngsters will become increasingly aware of what they are expected to learn.

Since these children thoroughly enjoy role-playing, the teacher might structure the class to represent a city with a council, court and administrative officers. The youngsters may draw up petitions in order to place a candidate's name on the ballot and follow exact procedures employed in their own municipal government. Closely following the actions of the city council in the paper will make their role-playing exciting.

A mock political convention can be a culminating activity for a study of politics. This activity generally stirs enthusiasm. If it is an election year, the newspapers will provide the details necessary for the youngsters to follow carefully the national or state campaigns and pattern their convention accordingly. Students, for example, may wish to develop speeches based on a political party platform or on political speeches reported in newspapers.

To make the most of the daily newspaper in a study of politics, the class probably should have copies of newspapers from Washington, D.C., and the state capital. If the teacher writes to the publisher explaining the need, the papers generally will be sent without charge for the time the class is to be involved in the study. Newspapers from capital cities usually can be counted on to supply more news pertaining to the state or national government than will newspapers in other areas. The newspapers are especially useful when the class is interested in debates taking place in Congress on certain bills.

Use of the daily newspaper and other periodicals to teach government makes possible the development of visually exciting bulletin boards. Since culturally different youngsters usually come from rather drab homes having few, if any, pictures, the classroom should be a colorful place with attractive and meaningful displays to delight the eyes.

If bulletin boards are to attract the attention of these youngsters, the displays should be arranged by the children. When the teacher posts materials on the bulletin boards, the youngsters may be unaware of the exhibits. These children see little that is beautiful in their daily surround-

ings; therefore, they have become accustomed to "turning off" much of their environment. The teacher, then, must guide groups or individual children to create bulletin boards that focus attention on the significant.

To be meaningful, material posted on the board should be discussed in class immediately and the children reminded that the display will be up all that week. Culturally different youngsters usually have not learned to select the significant points in a course of study. This does not mean, of course, that they have not learned to determine what is significant to them in their neighborhood setting, such as how to handle themselves in a street fight, for example. Through a variety of classroom, and out-of-class experiences, the teacher constantly must help these youngsters to focus on the important points in the subject under study.

Attractive displays can help the students to categorize information. A meaningful bulletin board could be titled, "Our Leaders." Two or three class members may be put in charge of the display. Pictures of the President, the Governor, congressmen and city councilmen (or aldermen) should be posted on a regular basis.

Whenever possible, the children should include pictures of leaders from their own racial or ethnic group. One reason for doing this is to improve the self-image of the students. The election of Negro mayors in Cleveland and Gary, Indiana, and a state legislator in Mississippi, for example, would be the kind of news items to feature on the bulletin board. If the school is located in a Mexican-American community, persons of Mexican extraction who have achieved leadership roles should be emphasized. The children, then, begin to identify with persons from their own racial or ethnic group who have achieved recognition. Avoid drawing attention solely to persons from minority groups who have become well-known athletes or entertainers. Focusing attention on leaders in government who are members of minority groups, may help the youngsters to realize that they need not limit themselves because of race or ethnic background.

The newspaper can be used to point out the hurdles to be cleared if a community proposal is to become a reality. The students, for example, might become interested in following progress of the plan to build rapid transit through their district. Questions regarding the relationship of city councils to the rapid transit board may develop from a progress study of rapid transit as reported in the local newspaper. The teacher may consider the subject significant enough to warrant setting up a committee just to study rapid transit development.

A civic project affecting their own neighborhood can excite the youngsters. Some of the children might wish to construct a model of the proposed project. When interest is running high, the teacher might wish to have the class attend a meeting of the rapid transit board. Whenever the teacher is considering a field trip, the students should become involved in

planning the trip. The youngsters will get more out of a field trip if they help with the planning.[4]

Conclusion

This article has stressed use of newspapers in emphasizing the here and now.

By dividing the class into committees, the teacher can expect maximum involvement. The group work method provides opportunity for the students to work cooperatively in collecting stories and pictures that relate to subjects under study.

The importance of role-playing with the culturally different has been underlined. James S. Coleman, Professor of Social Relations at Johns Hopkins University, stresses the value of games in teaching about government. "In playing a legislative game, for example," Coleman writes, "they learn how a system of representative democracy functions by acting out the role of legislator."

Coleman supports the games concept by saying, "A striking result in the use of these games has been that, unlike nearly all educational methods, they appear equally effective for children from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds and children of high achievement."[5]

Although this article has not advocated the highly structured game, the value of role-playing has been stressed. The mock political convention suggested here, as well as the mock city council or legislature, would have to be fairly well-structured to have much meaning.

The use of the newspaper in teaching about government provides opportunities for student involvement through group work projects of various kinds. The reading level of the typical newspaper is not so difficult but that some of the slowest children can benefit by the experience. Some children can do little other than clip pictures and cartoons to arrange for bulletin board displays. The newspaper does offer enough possibilities so the range of individual differences can be accommodated.

Use of the newspaper provides opportunity for innovation and imagination in teaching culturally different children about government. And innovation may be considered a key to making learning exciting for these youngsters.

4 Michael Usdan and Frederick Bertolaet (editors), *Teachers for the Disadvantaged*, Follett Publishing Co., Chicago, p. 40.

5 James S. Coleman, "Games—New Tools for Learning," Vol. 91, No. 8, Nov. 9, 1967, p. 9, *National Scholastic*.

❊ Urban Children Study Interaction Among People

IRENE E. HARNEY AND LUCILLE P. BURGDORF

> ### POLICE QUELL . . .
> #### by John Carr
>
> A small gang of teenage youths threw rocks and tin cans, smashed store windows, and seriously injured an elderly woman pedestrian Tuesday night.
>
> The disturbance started on Hill Street with a scuffle in front of a drugstore between a policeman and a Negro youth who was throwing rocks at passing cars. After a number of youth were taken into custody, calm was restored to the neighborhood about 2:30 A.M., according to Police Chief George Anderson.

After a discussion of the above news clipping, fifty students and a two-teacher team spent the next month exploring the broad concept—interaction among People. Pupils expressed opinions, raised questions, and brainstormed ideas. They sought solutions through research and ended with a project. Here are excerpts of what happened.

> Editorial Note: All dialogue was actually recorded on the chalkboard and duplicated for the pupils to use for reference—a valuable teaching technique.

Typical conversation about the newspaper clipping.

MARTY: The police are to blame. They always pick on the black people on Hill Street.

SALLY: I don't think the police are to blame. It's their job to stop disturbances.

ANDY: I don't believe the kids meant to do anything wrong. They were just having fun.

JOHN: Lots of kids throw stones and things. I bet they weren't rocks, just gravel.

MARTY: The city had better clean up that neighborhood. I know a boy who lives in that block. He said big rats run around in the houses.

HELEN: There's no place for kids to hang out in some neighborhoods in our city.

MABEL: In some cities the disturbances became riots. Sometimes people got killed. . . .

The discussion continued with the teacher entering the conversation: "I've been hearing you use such words as *I believe, I don't think, My dad*

says, Good kids, Newspapers always print about kids in trouble.' Where did you get the facts for such statements?" More talk followed with ideas recorded on the chalkboard.

Throughout the study, one teacher or the other assumed the leadership role. The second teacher was supportive, acting as recorder or serving in any way that would improve the learning environment.

Two lists emerged, one telling what the children wanted to know and one listing possible sources of information.

Typical items from the first list:

1. How did the news reporter get his information?
2. Was the disturbance planned?
3. What were the youths doing before the scuffle took place?
4. Did the disturbance happen before curfew?
5. Were they all Negroes?
6. Was the policeman on his regular beat?
7. Has police harassment been reported on Hill Street?
8. Were there any adults with the gang?

Typical sources of information:

A. Eyewitnesses
B. Policeman who scuffled with the first offender
C. Youth who clashed with police
D. Police records
E. Storekeeper whose windows were broken
F. People in the neighborhood

The most significant questions were circled and left on the board, and the rest were erased. Children were challenged to think about statements in the newspaper article that would lead to the basic issue: "Was it just a broken window? Was it police brutality? What is it? Become a detective. Look for clues. Become a researcher. Speculate. Try making statements such as 'How might we . . . ?' 'In what ways might we . . . ?'"

Over and over the teachers used the technique of listing any question or topic offered by a child and then reviewing the list at the end of the period. The most relevant ones were left for further discussion.

Even by the second day, children were more reflective, as shown in this sampling of questions:

1. How might order be restored on Hill Street?
2. In what ways might the police do a better job?
3. Why are Negroes often considered "second-class citizens"?

Again the teacher reacted: "Stop a moment. Ask yourself what we want to accomplish and why. For example, 'Why do you want to restore order on Hill Street?'"

More reflective and evaluative questions followed. Some samples:

1. How might Negroes receive a better education?
2. In what ways might Negroes find more employment?
3. Can Negroes find their own solution to the problem?
4. How might Negroes develop better self-images?
5. How might we prevent racial tension?

That day the children decided to leave only No. 5 on the chalkboard. To promote better discussion, criteria were set up to guide their brainstorming.

Criticism is ruled out. (No jamming on mental brakes by saying "It won't work.")

Freewheeling is welcomed. (It is easier to tame down a wild idea than to build up a weak one.)

Quantity is wanted. (Out of a number of ideas, we are more apt to pick a winner.)

Hitchhiking is requested. (If you combine your ideas with those of someone else, the result is usually an improvement.)

Typical ideas for preventing racial tensions emerged from the brainstorming.

> There were 45 suggestions in all—the examples listed here are sometimes in sequence to show how hitchhiking occurred.

1. Provide more job opportunities for young people.
2. Get more policemen who understand kids.
4. Clean up neighborhoods.
7. Start a cool summer campaign.
8. (Hitchhike!) Wear a button saying, "Keep it cool."
9. (Hitchhike!) Encourage shopkeepers to hire youths for odd jobs during the summer.
10. Give gang leaders badges. Make them responsible for their gang's behavior.
11. Reward Negroes in peacetime for war records in Viet Nam.

Again the most important ones were circled and left on the chalkboard. Then the remaining ones were divided into four categories: (1) Education; (2) Environment; (3) Economics; and (4) Insight. In the discussion that followed, we tried to see how each category related to the broad concept, *Interaction among People.* Here is an example:

TEACHER: Yesterday Harvey said that there are eleven ideas left. We have two more categories.

HENRY: *Economics* and *insight.*

TEACHER: How is *economics* a part of *Interaction among People?*

ANDY: I don't know what *economics* means.

(With more discussion, a definition was worked out—"Economics deals with goods, services, and the work that men do to satisfy their basic needs.")

NELSON: Economics is really *interaction*. I don't know of anybody today who alone supplies all these things for himself.

PETER: Number 9 says, *Encourage shopkeepers to hire youths for odd jobs during the summer*. That's about work and they could satisfy their needs if they earned money.

JIM: Number 17 fits, too. It says, *Provide more jobs throughout the city for employed youths*. That would sure help if kids had something to do,

The Interaction Study had been mostly large-group discussion for two weeks—a technique some educators would question. But these teachers felt the situation warranted it.

When all 45 ideas were assigned and discussed, children selected problems—subconcepts that would challenge them individually. Five criteria were set up for evaluating a problem:

1. Does it have *universal appeal?*
2. Does it have *conflict?*
3. Does it provide an opportunity to examine *values?*
4. Does it involve work in different *subject areas?*
5. Will it be of *enduring significance?*

Each was fully discussed in terms of specific problems. Here for example is Marty's problem:

What do the black people in my city need and want so they won't cause disturbances.

TEACHER: Let us examine your question with our criteria. *Does it have universal appeal?*

MARTY: Yes. I believe it does. People all over—in Africa, Asia, everywhere—need things like food. If they don't get food and housing, they cause trouble and disturbances.

TEACHER: *Does it have conflict?*

NELSON: It sure does. That news item was all about conflict.

JOHN: And look at the conflict the State Legislature and the City Council are having about open housing.

TEACHER: *Does it provide an opportunity to examine values?*

SALLY: Many white people feel superior to Negroes. Is this right?

ANDY: Many companies won't employ even qualified Negroes because of their color....

The children continued to select problems. Typical ones:

1. Where do most of the black people in our city live?
2. How many Negroes in our city are unemployed?
3. How many go to college?

The class was now separating into problem-solving groups or, in many cases, children working alone. To aid them, copies of all the dialogues were distributed.

Conference sheets were posted in both rooms, so that students could sign up for a conference with one of the teachers. They were cautioned to come to these meetings with a plan of organization. When a group was working, the problem was divided so every member of the group would do an independent piece of research, and each child would finish with his own product.

Both teachers scheduled conferences at all available times. Two flexible ninety-minute periods a week (designated as open art time) facilitated the scheduling.

A period of two and one-half weeks had been used to lay a base, but from it emerged a long list of projects such as:

1. A comparison of values held by Negro and white students who attend Campus School.

2. An analysis of the role of the Negro in *Amos Fortune, Free Man,* and *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

3. A comparison of the number of Negro employees in two local department stores in 1960 and in 1967.

4. A record of the crimes reported in local newspapers from March to June 1967, noting the race and age of the criminal and type of crime.

5. A survey of the number of Negroes appearing in comic strips.

6. A record of all racial disturbances which appeared in the newspapers (March to June).

7. A study of the role played by the Underground Railway.

8. An examination of facts and fiction about race.

Altogether more than thirty problems were worked on.

Having selected his problem, every student raised questions, stated his hypotheses, made a bibliography, collected information, and wrote a descriptive report on his data. He was responsible for an end product, resulting from his research findings. These varied in sophistication from a simple collection of news articles to pictures and an architect's model home designed to scale for gracious living—complete with detailed blueprints, description of family needs and income, and estimates of construction costs.

A wide variety of people including lawyers, anthropologists, historians, city council members, judges, and policemen acted as resource persons. Children toured the residential neighborhood to see environmental conditions. They visited the County Court House, and listened in on a jury trial and a Council meeting.

Trade books and poetry about and by Negroes, textbooks, and articles from local newspapers and popular magazines were widely used as well as many visual materials. Examination of paintings, masks, statues, and photographs exhibited by Peace Corps returnees and foreign students offered insight into the customs and values held by African people.

Role playing helped students get "inside the feelings" of others; discussions aided in recognizing the many choices which exist in resolving

problems or situations. Through simulations, students learned how individual feelings and emotions often impede the decision-making process.

The two teachers evaluated the project carefully. Here are excerpts from their conclusions:

Keeping students informed of their progress in acquiring skills and helping them realize the value of questioning sources of information required careful planning. We found that through dialogue between teacher and student, the student learned to appraise himself. The one-to-one relationship helped even the shy child become more open in expressing his frustrations, asking questions, and sharing information. Through this relationship we also gained a better insight into the student's personal learning strategy and helped him become aware of how he learns.

✱ Seeing It Like It Is: Student-Made Films

EDWARD DUBROWSKY

How do you help the disadvantaged youngster raise his self-image and establish higher life-goals? How do you fill his need for successful self-expression and communication?

How about putting a camera in his hands and letting him make his own movie? I did, with astonishing results.

In one instance, I was confronted with a group of boys from disadvantaged backgrounds, who were in a special class for children with severe adjustment problems. They were tough to manage, did not get along with each other or with teachers and were extremely difficult to motivate academically.

When I proposed making a movie of *Robin Hood*, there was an immediate, positive response. Clearly, there was a self-motivating factor about such a project that provoked immediate interest. It wasn't long, however, before other factors entered into the project—factors indicating that demands would be made on them.

For one thing, it became necessary for the boys to work as a team. Each had to depend on the other. Any member of the crew who did not carry out his responsibilities endangered the whole project. Also, the importance of research and preparation became apparent. They had to read the story, listen to records carefully in order to pick up story lines and dialogue and carefully watch films and filmstrips to learn technique. In addition, some of the basic scientific principles of photography and motion pictures had to be learned. Mood, color and composition had to be considered. In fact, a whole curriculum involving reading, oral expression, writing, science, art and even mathematics was developed around the production of this film.

It was, however, the guidance aspects of this work which proved to be the most significant. Discipline is required in making a film or, for that matter, in order to be able to create any work of art. It was this discipline and the teamwork that resulted which were especially valuable. While working on the film, these boys were able to work together and to assume responsibility.

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Later, when they showed the film to other classes in the school, another value emerged. For these boys, the completed film was evidence of a successfully completed act; possibly the first in their lives. The acclaim that they received when the film was shown made them truly aware that they had been capable of producing something of value. It made them aware of their own value. I suspect that they will long remember their own version of Robin Hood.

Like It Is

Another project involved the production of a short film called *Our Town* by a group of sixth grade boys and girls who had been studying documentary films—"tell-it-like-it-is" films. They decided to "tell it like it is" regarding their own community. I helped them organize into a crew, each with his particular assignment to be carried out.

When the first clear day came along they set out on an excursion which was to take them on a walk of just one block—right around the school. They were to film whatever they saw that might tell something about their neighborhood. The result was a 3½-minute film which told of a dying community—drug addiction, unemployment, urban decay, social disorder and the valiant efforts of some members of the community to stem the tide of decay. Few professional filmmakers could have improved on the stark simplicity of their film.

The real impact of *Our Town* came when the film was completed. When seen on the screen, the ugliness which they customarily ignored was suddenly staring them in the face. Their insights into, and perception of, the things around them was immediately sharpened. They wanted to go out and shoot all the scenes again. When they showed the film to other classes there were stimulating discussions between themselves and other pupils. Clearly the act of filmmaking had again awakened sense and facilitated communication and learning.

Non-Verbal Communication

For pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds, this process of finding effective, acceptable ways of communication is extremely important. Non-verbal communication through visual images can give youngsters an important outlet for ideas and emotions.

Disadvantaged youngsters have been described in a variety of ways. While the descriptions are sometimes complex and obscure, the need for status, recognition and appreciation is key. In the *creation* of works that can be displayed and appreciated by the world, these youngsters can produce materials that will bring them status.

What About Equipment?

In our case, we used materials and equipment available through the normal channels of supply for New York's public schools. We acquired two standard 8 mm cameras with zoom lenses, film and materials for splicing and editing the film. A commercial film company donated two viewer-editors. (Many commercial firms will cooperate in providing services and information to educational programs involving the use of film.)

If you can't obtain the equipment through school channels, you might try scouting around for used equipment in pawn shops and camera stores. It's possible to get a used camera for $10 or less. It may not be the latest piece of equipment, but it will more than serve your purposes.

Other equipment you might want to obtain includes a tripod for each camera, cans and empty reels for storage and editing, and a projector for showing the film. Sound is another important element in this process. It can be added to the film by making a tape on a standard tape reorder, then playing it as the film is projected.

Now to Work

Making a film is not a big technical problem. You don't need a studio, laboratory or years of experience. You do need enthusiasm and a willingness to try—and fail. If you've had no experience in using movie equipment, outside help is not difficult to obtain—from an AV person in your school or district, a local camera store, an inexpensive manual.

While you can't completely structure this activity—in fact, its versatility is what makes it so adaptable for any classroom—there is a general sequence you can follow.

Start with a story idea; any will do. The possibilities are limitless. (Note the dissimilarity in subject and form of the two films cited in this article.) Just ask your class: "Would you like to make a film?" The students will take it from there. Once the subject is chosen, they will research it willingly and vigorously.

During this stage, obtain as many films and filmstrips pertinent to the subject as you can. For *Robin Hood*, I showed Disney's live-action version plus other films and filmstrips on the subject and historical period. This aided in the research and provided them with an opportunity to study filmmaking techniques—composition, sequence of events and scenes, etc.

Also at this time, your cameramen should be selected. Have them gain familiarity with the equipment by filming any printed material which will be in the film—the title, credits (i.e., names of students involved and their jobs or roles) and, if needed, a written introduction.

If the budget can afford it, purchase a set of letters designed for

science. Fowler indicates that some language development must precede
concept development in science, and both Schultz (in the last part of her
article) and Vitrogan show us how the two can be related. (Schultz
also shows us how math concepts and other types of learning can grow
out of science activities.) Vitrogan, indeed, argues that the purpose of
his science activities is primarily language development and forcefully
advocates the point that language skills (speaking, writing, reading, and
listening) can be taught more effectively when children have to use the
skills in a functional setting. Integrating language arts activities with
science or social science activities is, therefore, a better teaching strategy
than teaching the language arts skills as ends in themselves in
nonfunctional separate class periods devoted exclusively to practice and
drill.

Developmental Science Learning
for Disadvantaged Children

WILLIAM FOWLER

For too many lower-working-class children who live in a world forever bordering on poverty, conditions of life may be summarized in two words: jobs and survival. The varities of deprivation and disadvantage are manifold. All too prevalent are poor diet, inadequate clothing, crowded urban conditions, cluttered and often disorganized family life, intense competition among many siblings, and low quality and quantity of adult guidance. Contrasting and shifting extremes of severe punishment and neglect, of intense hostility and overpacifying are boilt into the way of life.

Evidence is rapidly accumulating that reveals characteristic psychological patterns all too frequently associated with these conditions of life (1–4).* Certain styles, or combinations of psychological traits, tend to be more prevalent than others. It is important, however, to stress that these patterns, while found frequently in the poor and underprivileged, are not uniformly present throughout these subcultures. The range of variation, both in quantity and in quality of personality and cognitive styles, is as great here as in any other population. In this paper, we shall center our analysis on the members of the lower working class, white or Negro, who have encountered psychologically depriving and disadvantaging experiences to a severe degree.

In general, the disadvantaged child has a scanty store of information and only a meager ability to conceptualize. The disparity between the performance of lower-working-class children, especially Negro children, and the performance of advantaged upper-working-class and middle-class children, Negro and white, is evident in the younger years, and increases in age and grade level so that from fourth grade on there is typically a difference of one grade or more in school achievement and as many as twenty points or more in intelligence quotient (5–7). In various studies (5–8) disadvantaged children have been found to use what Bernstein (9) defines as a restricted language code in comparison with the more complex elaborated language codes available to advantaged children in school learning situations.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to references at end of article.

To some extent, deficiencies in language processes may be described as differences in dialect, but there is much evidence to support the idea that the problem is not merely a question of difference, but of deficiency in the complexity of language organization and style (8, 10–14). According to Brown (15), Luria (16), Vygotsky (17), and much contemporary psycholinguistic thinking, language is probably the central vehicle that enables the child and the adult to represent conceptually and regulate his behavior in relation to the world. Without language it is almost impossible to construct the elaborate explanatory systems and conceptual models that are at the heart of scientific activity.

Disadvantaged children are less effective than middle-class children in classifying and conceptualizing activities (3, 18, 19). Since general mental ability, logical reasoning, and, especially, the ability to use language systems and classificatory approaches to problem-solving are the central ingredients of productive scientific inquiry, the socially deprived child is especially disadvantaged in cognitive processes required for scientific activity.

Disadvantaged children are quite restricted in their information, in their knowledge of simple facts. The range of content categories available to these children is especially limited. It would appear that the pattern of thinking of the young elementary-school child from disadvantaged groups is more likely to be anchored in what Piaget (20) calls infralogical structures and in sensory-motor oriented behaviors. Infralogical structues are object structures defined by physical contiguity in space and time and with a minimum of abstraction. The style of reasoning of the advantaged, elementary-school child more often involves logical if still concretely linked operations, in which verbal reasoning, logical analysis, and abstracting ability begin to come to the forefront. The disadvantaged child deals primarily with the immediate and the concrete, finding it difficult to make abstractions and to order his thinking.

Two Portraits

Certain personality styles are characteristic of the disadvantaged child. In one basic style, he tends to be impulsive, hyperactive, scattered, and diffuse in his behavior. He has a short attention span. From moment to moment his interest shifts from one phenomenon to another. His behavior lacks purpose and organization. He has difficulty in delaying his immediate satisfactions for *long-range ends, which are the foundation of effective program-solving activity*. Problems of conflict with authority and rebelliousness are a frequent concomitant of this style of behavior.

In another basic style, the disadvantaged child tends to be apathetic, low in energy output, and generally passive in exploring the external world and in participating in social relations. Forms of behavior that are rigid, withdrawn, intense, and unengaged may predominate. Although this type of behavior is withdrawn, it is less associated with reflectiveness and a rich imagination than with the withdrawn behavior of more advantaged children. The withdrawn

disadvantaged child shows, instead, a barrenness of the affective and thinking processes—in short, intellectual and emotional deprivation. Overconformity to authority and rote learning are typical of this style.

The disadvantaged child often tends to be more physically aggressive than the middle-class child, who tends to be verbally aggressive and argumentative. The disadvantaged child shows a behavioral pattern of physical activity directed toward ends in the immediate environment. Although he often engages in play, his play patterns are less complex, less imaginative, less organized, and do not develop into the intricate game structures that the advantaged child is capable of in the early and middle years of elementary school. The play of the advantaged child is characterized by verbal cognitive and skilled motor refinements. The disadvantaged child is more likely to engage in whole-body movements and simple forms of play—competitive jostling, hitting, and wrestling.

Early Independence

Paradoxically, the disadvantaged child has an early tendency toward autonomy. His autonomy is narrowly based, stemming largely from early neglect, and not complex enough to enable him to deal rationally with his environment. But this early independence, handled adequately by involving the child in responsibility, can be an advantage.

For the urban, disadvantaged child, identification with his peer group frequently supersedes, at an early age, his identification with and attachments to the adult world. The child's close involvement in peer relations can be used to his benefit.

The disadvantaged lower-class child also often shows a kind of psychological mobility, an openness to experience, and flexibility, accompanied by warmth, outgoingness, and a directness in manner that in many ways make him more accessible to interpersonal relations and education than might otherwise be expected.

The Negro male, however, has special problems of social identity deriving from a dearth of occupational roles to strive for and of adult models in the culture with whom to interact and identify. The predominantly matriarchal culture leaves the Negro male doubly low in ego strength and self-confidence. He feels oppressed and abused by the female world, as well as by the middle-class world, both of which dominate the world of school to which he must adapt.

Approaches to Learning

Given this array of characteristics, it is convenient to divide our discussion on learning approaches into two main sections: conditions in ghetto schools and teaching styles.

One of the most serious problems in ghetto schools is class size. Prevailing class sizes of thirty to forty pupils and even fifty to sixty need to be cut to

less than twenty for each teacher. Until class sizes are drastically cut, there can be little hope of engaging pupils in serious science or in any other educational activity in the classroom. Given the low levels of mental development, given the strong peer group identification, given the kind of pseudo autonomy I have described, and the lack of internal controls or the intense withdrawal—given these traits, close personal and individualized attention is essential to reach these children in any kind of educational enterprise. Private schools often take pride in class size of twenty pupils—or fewer—and these children are usually carefully selected so as to exclude most of the children who have special emotional problems or learning difficulties.

As for teaching approaches, there are certain characteristics and styles of teaching, which, while valuable in any good teacher, are almost essential in dealing with the disadvantaged child. These include such widely recognized, if difficult to develop, characteristics as warmth and humanity, and liking and respecting children. The teacher needs to know her subject matter, needs to care about helping children to learn it, and needs to have techniques of guiding children individually and in groups. The teacher needs to be aware of the richness in personality variations found in any classroom, and she should be able to cope with a range of different styles of personality and styles and levels of learning.

Models

With disadvantaged children, however, special considerations enter the scene. Because of the widespread absence of male models in the world of disadvantaged Negro boys, the presence of male teachers who understand the personal idiom of masculinity is important. The dominance of middle-class, feminine value systems built into the institutional structure of our schools, places additional handicaps on the Negro, lower-class male. He is forced to conform to an alien world of middle-classness and to a dominant style of femininity, in both of which he may have suffered dominance and discrimination throughout his life. Beyond this particular problem for Negro boys, we must inquire how disadvantaged Negro children can, in the absence of opportunities to participate with socially valued, ethnic majority reference groups, acquire the kind of stable self-image essential for cognitive learning. In other words, a basic condition for learning is strong, integrated, and equalitarian reference groups in the classroom. The disadvantaged child should be given the opportunity to interact with the members of these groups to develop positive social-self identification.

Knowledge of group processes is valuable in any teaching situation. In working with disadvantaged children, given their strong peer orientation and identification, knowledge of group processes is almost essential. To be effective, the teacher must ally herself in some harmonious relationship with the group values, aims, and structures of the children she is trying to teach. She must involve them in decision-making, in laying plans through discussion, and

in developing agreements. Such an approach does not mean giving up her authority and leadership in the classroom. It does mean establishing mutual respect and social reciprocity.

There are special techniques that can be used with groups. These techniques make it possible for children to work in collaboration on projects in subgroups which, in turn, compete as teams in various learning activities. Approaches of this kind provide *ways of channeling, harnessing, and redirecting excessive, individualized aggressions and competitiveness* into productive group relations and learning activity.

Teaching Science Concepts

In addition to this basic orientation to teaching disadvantaged children, I have used a number of principles in constructing a conceptual framework for teaching science and language concepts. This conceptual scheme is based largely on research with younger children in the University of Chicago Laboratory Nursery School (21) as well as research with disadvantaged children (18, 19). These approaches are probably suitable for older disadvantaged children, many of whom have certain characteristics that resemble those of younger, advantaged children.

We must assume that the disadvantaged children in question are participating in some kind of effective language-learning program, using many of the orientations we employ in the science projects. *The program should attempt not only to increase vocabulary, but also to enable the children to assimilate cognitively more complex language structures* to use in representing and abstracting phenomena in the external world. In the absence of such an *intensive, remedial language program*, any science classroom activity is likely, in the long run, to be severely limited by the narrow symbolic boundaries of the language system of the disadvantaged children.

Dramatic Appeal

Selection of content is a primary consideration. According to a well-known learning principle, *closely identified with Dewey*, children learn best when material is drawn from their own life experience. Yet in our learning projects with young children, we have discovered that children become interested in learning, whether or not the material relates to familiar spheres of reality, provided that *the presentation is dramatic*, capturing the child's attention and arousing his curiosity.

We have used a combination of extrinsic and intrinsic systems of motivational activity for this purpose. *Play is the primary form of extrinsic motivational system we employ.* Situations are set up that engage the child in constructions, in manipulative and search-type activities, in seeking and finding objects or color cards, pictures of animals, geometric shapes, or other phenomena. The children's interest is *immediately harnessed and easily sus-*

Building with Care

With the disadvantaged, as with the younger child, it is probably most
efficient to select some defined subject, such as the animal world, and con-
centrate on areas of that subject—the names of a limited variety of animals,
their structures and functions and how they are ordered together in a classi-
fication hierarchy. We must order the information by having the children take
one step at a time, by having them learn little by little, and by having them
recognize the types of relationships with which the internal structures of
animals are organized. We also need to show how animal types relate to each
other in their natural ecology and evolutionary organization. Only through
such a process of presenting concepts of intra- and inter-organizational struc-
ture and of sequencing the concepts by levels of complexity can the child
come to construct organized meanings about the external world. It is impor-
tant to present the phenomenon in a way that will sustain an inquiry ap-
proach and the excitement that comes through discovery. It is also important
to structure and sequence material in a way that will keep the disadvantaged
child from getting lost in aimless detail.

It is therefore essential to anchor learning in specific structures to enable
the child to grasp the general principles according to which matter is orga-
nized. Objects have parts and wholes, which are interrelated in certain ways.
Structures have functions. Objects of a type belong together in certain cate-
gories, according to particular sets of attributes.

Moving Toward Understanding

When the teacher limits study to specific areas, she permits a child to
acquire facts in a meaningful context and helps assure that he will not get
lost in a maze of miscellaneous facts drawn at random from a large range
of areas. Indeed, for the disadvantaged child it is the randomness and the dis-
organization in his pattern of life, together with a lack of verbal and logical
guidance, that have handicapped him in acquiring efficient language systems
and in organizing conceptual frameworks to cope meaningfully with the phe-
nomena of the external world.

The sequences through which a child is led begin at the learning level
on which he comes to a situation. With young advantaged children or older
disadvantaged children, and in a new area, we start at a concrete level by
studying objects and their components, by studying objects in relation to one
another in their natural ecology. Programs then follow a sequence of levels of
abstraction in hierarchical classification and range across overlapping net-
works of relationships. As an illustration, first the children study individual animals,
then their parts and how they function. This sequence leads to questions
about networks of relations in the natural habitat and to questions about how
animal structures function adaptively in the environment. Finally, we ap-
proach the organization of the animal world into types and biological orders
in a complicated hierarchy.

Pacing the presentation of learning is extremely important. The problem is to assure that each child acquires mastery of understanding and recall at one level before he is asked to proceed to a higher level of complexity. In this way, diagnosis of the child's learning abilities is built into the instructional approach.

The Small Group

Classroom teaching has one problem that haunts teachers more than any other—tuning in phenomena to the understanding of each child's mind. No two children learn alike, yet teachers must somehow deal with *individuals* in groups. Programs designed so that children can work together on projects in small groups can do much to resolve this problem and to sustain motivation. Faster learners acquire greater mastery by guiding slower learners, while slower children are provided with models and receive additional instruction from the effective learners. At the same time, the teacher can be free to work with individual children or subgroups of children at different levels on different problems.

In our approach we place a high value on having children handle objects that they are observing and learning about. For younger children and disadvantaged, older children, sensory-motor involvement with objects and pictures is probably critical in preparing them to master concepts. Development of internal, symbolic mediational processes, that is learning to deal with phenomena abstractly in the mind, is contingent upon direct familiarity with the phenomena themselves (20, 25).

It is important for all children—but especially for disadvantaged boys and girls—to have an active, constructive role at every stage of the learning process. The child learns not merely by passively receiving, but also by actively working with and putting together, trying out in different combinations how phenomena really work or can be constructed.

Cognitive Styles

The approach I have been evolving stresses the development of effective cognitive styles, which are viewed as essential to scientific inquiry. One focal style, built into the way in which the material is presented, is an analytic approach. In this approach, the child studies parts and attributes of objects and specific relationships. In another style, synthesizing or integrating, the learning tasks require constructional or synthesizing operations. Disassembled objects are presented, which the child puts together to form united physical (infralogical) structures. Similarly, abstract, categorizing styles are developed through abstractive, synthesizing tasks that provide for the selection of different kinds of attributes to form abstract and logical classifications. The importance of abstracting attributes to form classes is matched by the value of understanding phenomena in relation to context, or the ecological relations among phenomena.

Possibly one of the more important features of this conceptual model of science concept-learning is the flexible organization of tasks. Tasks are presented with varying sets and alternate arrangements of materials to give the child opportunities to form a variety of conceptual constructions. The aim is to develop a creative, synthesizing style through an open-system approach.

Free Play

In this respect, free play—construction play with plastic or free form materials as well as sociodramatic play in freewheeling, social-role situations —can be seen as a foundation for the later development of scientific inquiry. In essence, play is an open-system process. In play, the child makes his own creations out of an infinite number of combinations, limited only by the constraints involved in the nature of the material.

Approaches of this kind are probably among the most valuable that nursery schools stress and that elementary-school systems could provide. If scientific inquiry consists of anything at all, it consists not of solving old and already well-defined problems, but, as Getzels (26) has suggested, of discovering the new problems that require solution and creating new systems of thought needed to solve them.

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❊ Ecology Studied on the Schoolgrounds

JOHN W. BRAINERD

Science education started outdoors in the Paleolithic Age. It largely went indoors when (1) valuable records and delicate instruments needed protection from the weather and (2) scientists discovered the value of studying one thing at a time, running controlled experiments in which an attempt was made to vary just one factor at a time while holding all others constant. Going indoors has achieved fantastic results, but today too much science education is restricted to the laboratory and classroom, especially when rapidly increasing populations make it imperative for us to know more about the natural resources basic to our existence.

Ecology is a study of the relationships between living things and their environment.

Out on the schoolground, the environment is much more complicated than in the classroom. At first the laboratory scientist may feel entirely lost in this big world beyond the pull of his demonstration magnet and outside his neatly confining test tube. But life is like that, very complicated; how do we help young people to learn to deal with such a complicated world scientifically? There are of course, many ways. Here are a few tips you may wish to try if you have not already done so.

We can study ourselves, human animals, on the schoolground. How do we feel out-of-doors compared to in the classroom? Hotter? Colder? We can measure temperature indoors and out and use the data for deciding on what to wear when we go into the outdoor environment. Sitting on the lawn is softer than sitting on a classroom chair; but, do our legs feel cramped sooner sitting on the ground, and whose legs feel cramped first, children's or teachers'? Suppose we sit on the pavement: Is it harder, softer, hotter, colder, dirtier, cleaner, than the lawn or chair?

We thus find that we human animals feel differently in various parts of the schoolgrounds. There are different environments within the big outdoor environment. Also, individuals have different ideas about what is hot and what is cold: "Teacher almost always thinks it is too cold!", or "The girls always think it is too dirty!" Because even the scientist has to learn to face different interpretations of "fact", you can have each child take pencil and paper on a clipboard (invaluable for outdoor study) and have each go

for five minutes to the spot on the schoolgrounds that looks most comfortable to him; there he or she *should* make notes about that particular environment. On reconvening at a signal, teacher or pupil moderated discussion can bring out that the students initially had different ideas as to what looked like the most *comfortable spot.* Certain spots attracted several of the students, and in certain cases where more went to one spot than could be comfortable there, some competition resulted. Also, what did the students learn about their environment in the five minutes? Would they pick the same spot again or do they now think that they might have done better to have picked the spot that Johnny had selected? This is an experiment in social biology based on analysis of the physical environment. It can be modified in many ways. (Note that in any experiment where the class is allowed to scatter, bounds should be agreed upon first so that the teacher does not lose control of the class. Sometimes it is best to let only half the class disperse at a time while the others are kept together in a related activity.)

The next phase of study can utilize the human senses and such tools as may be appropriate and available (or which can be made) to set up *a classification of environments on the schoolgrounds.* Biology, geology, geography, or ecology texts can suggest classifications. A modern one, particularly adapted to school use has four major headings:

1. Barelands
   paved areas
   compacted earth
   eroding banks
2. Treelands
   evergreen woods
   deciduous woods
   picnic grove
   orchard
   scattered shade trees
   (overlapping lawn perhaps)
3. Shrublands
   foundations-plantings of shrubs
   bushes
   hedges
   berry patches
   brushlands
4. Herblands
   lawns
   flowerbeds
   vegetable gardens
   fields
   sedgy meadows

Innumerable projects may arise from the mapping, observing, measuring, describing of these environments. Usually smaller environments can be recognized within the above headings as study progresses. Thus a city school with only a courtyard may at first appear just as uniform "Paving." But, there are almost certainly *Cracked* and *Not-Cracked* environments, and *Shaded-in-September* and *Not-Shaded-in-September* areas with their somewhat distinct microclimates, not to mention the larger *Shaded-in-December* and smaller *Not-Shaded-in-December* regions worthy of measurement and relation to a unit on astronomy or weather.

As the various environments of the school become noticed, awareness develops that the human animal is not the only one involved. Sharp eyes will spot the ants in the cracked courtyard, the nighterawlers in the lawn, the towhees in the brushlands, and the chickadees in the woods. An unskilled teacher at first may consider these as distractions from some pre-arranged botany-based exercise; but to the alert teacher, the animals constitute the best of built-in motivators and stimulators for further study—and not just for the boys either! Each animal has its environmental preferences for a comfortable spot, just as humans do. *What would the ant write on his clipboard?* What does the nighterawler like about the lawn? Do the ants have any scientific methods to help them find a comfortable spot, or to make one? Did you ever see an ant experiment? This type of question will require the students to observe ants and draw their own conclusions. Did you ever see an ant write down a classification to help him keep accurate records of the truth as his senses and instruments see it?

The pure science of discovery can reveal an unlimited number of factors in the human environment. Only when these are better understood can the human animal do better than he has so far with that very important applied science, the management of natural resources. And even as the natural resources are increasingly managed, it is most important that outdoor ecological studies take advantage of one of the major rules of the indoor scientist: Have an experimental *Control*, something left unchanged as a basis for comparison. Thus as we study and work with children to improve the management of schoolgrounds, we should try to set aside little *natural areas* to compare with the intensely managed ones. Here we can learn the most humbling lessons in ecology. Indeed, who knows when ecological studies on the schoolgrounds may change the future of the human race?

✿ Outdoor Laboratory Experiences for Older Children

BETH SCHULTZ AND ESTHER N. SCHROEDER

A wide variety of learning opportunities or "teachable moments" exist in any school environment. All schools are surrounded by natural laboratories. A survey of a school site will reveal most of the following:

the air and changing weather
changing lengths and directions of shadows
puddles after the rain
animals (insects, birds, small mammals, etc.)
bare areas and areas covered with plants
soil fences and vegetation along fences
litter deposited by winds and people
variety of natural and man-made materials
things in the sky (sun, clouds, airplanes, vapor trails, dust, etc.)
sounds and smells
Playground equipment (pulleys-balance beam)

All of these areas are educationally useful in developing the science program if experiences are designed to help children progress toward understanding significant ideas and phenomena.

The teaching and use of the following science process skills will help in developing the desired understandings:

exploring
observing
discovering
collecting evidence
recognizing problems
planning
testing
inquiring
experimenting
summarizing
evaluating

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Playground equipment (pulleys-balance beam)

All of these areas are educationally useful in developing the science program if experiences are designed to help children progress toward understanding significant ideas and phenomena.

The teaching and use of the following science process skills will help in developing the desired understandings:

exploring
observing
discovering
collecting evidence
recognizing problems
planning
testing
inquiring
experimenting
summarizing
evaluating

The following five outdoor laboratory experiences[1] have been used successfully with upper elementary children. The specific procedures can be

Written especially for this book.
[1] These experiences were devised by Miss Schultz (ed. note).

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modified to fit the space and schedule of any school environment, urban, suburban, or rural. Major ideas and science processes involved are listed in the boxes in the introduction to each experience.

Younger children need opportunities to use each of their senses, one by one, to help them discriminate and describe and to develop the scientific skill of observing. What sound is that? How does this feel?

OBSERVING CHANGES IN EARTH-SUN RELATIONSHIPS DURING THE DAY (Indirect Measurements)

IDEAS	PROCESSES
Interaction	Measuring
Change	Summarizing
	Predicting

Make record of length and direction of shadow of an object every 15 minutes for two or more hours.

Materials: Stakes, hammer; or shadow board.

Method 1. Shadow board.

Mark shadow on paper which has been taped to the board. Be careful to place board in exactly the same position each time a shadow is recorded. Label each shadow with time shadow was recorded.

Method 2. Shadow board.

Use a transparency instead of paper. Transparency can then be projected during summary discussion.

Method 3. Mark shadow with stakes.

Use a fence post, utility pole or a stake to cast the shadow. Place a stake at the end of the shadow of the post every 15 minutes.

Variation of Method 3.

Every 15 minutes, hammer a stake at the end of the shadow of the previous stake.

What pattern emerges from each of the methods of measurement?

At what time did you record the longest shadow?

At what time did you record the shortest shadow?

Is there any pattern of change of the length and direction of the shadow? That is, after 3 or 4 measurements, can you predict the length and direction of the next shadow you will record?

If you continue observations through the afternoon, at what time will you see a shadow as long as the longest one you recorded in the morning? How will it differ from your morning record? Check your prediction.

Noon sun (the time that the sun is highest in the sky) is indicated by the shortest shadow.

TEMPERATURE VARIATION IN NATURE

IDEAS	PROCESSES
Variation	Investigating
Cause-effect	Measuring
relationships	Recording
	Predicting
	Inferring

Comparisons become vivid and explicit, and thus more meaningful, when they are based on measurements.

Temperature is an important factor determining the variety of climates on earth. Temperature is also an important variable in the microclimates on school sites.

Are the temperature differences the cause or the result of the variation of microclimates one finds? Other factors may be involved. What are they? *Is the variation due to direct cause-effect relationships or is there a network of interactions?*

Materials needed: Thermometers, notebook, and pencil.

Note: To achieve most accurate temperature measurements, hold thermometer away from your body, shade the bulb and leave the instrument in place for two or three minutes.

1. Consider the clothes you are wearing and how warm, cool, or comfortable you feel. What do you think the air temperature is? On what do you base your estimate? Measure the air temperature. How nearly correct was your estimate?

2. *Without using the thermometer, find what you think is the coolest spot* in the area where you are working. Mark the place with a stone and record your estimate of the temperature. Find what you think is the warmest spot and mark it with a stone. Record your estimate of temperature. Now MEASURE the temperature at each place. Measure the temperature at the surface and three feet above the surface. Which measurement is closest to your estimate? What did you consider as you decided where the

coolest and warmest spots were? Now find out if the spots you selected were indeed the coolest and warmest. How will you find out?

You may extend this investigation to make comparisons of temperature of different kinds of places.

3. Direct each child to a different kind of place on the school site (sidewalk in sun and in shade, bare ground in sun and in shade, bare ground close to building and away from building, well sodded lawn in sun and in shade). Ask him to measure and record the temperature at ground level and three feet above the ground.

Record Temperatures on a Chart

Date:	Time:	
Location	Temp. at Surface	Temp. 3' Above Surface

Measuring and recording these temperatures will remain an exercise in the use of the thermometer until systematically recorded data are examined.

Compare temperatures of paved, grass covered and hard packed bare areas. Compare shaded and sunny areas. Do you find any patterns of variation? Are the hottest and coolest the same kinds of surfaces?

4. Extend this investigation to making measurements at the same places in the early morning and in the afternoon just before school is dismissed. Are the warmest and coolest places of the morning still the warmest and coolest in the afternoon? What kinds of surfaces gain and lose heat fastest?

5. The results of your investigation may help explain variations in climate and vegetation of North America. What other climatic factors did you notice, but not measure? How might these interact with temperature?

How many reasons can you think of to account for a mid-city park being more comfortable on a summer evening than an apartment building adjacent to the park?

After a five-day heat wave in July, which place would be warmest, the city or the country? Why?

Summer residents in Florida claim that they are more comfortable during the summer than people living in New York or Chicago. Account for this. What factors other than temperature are involved?

SPACE AND FIGURES IN SPACE
SOLIDS, SURFACES, LINES, AND ANGLES

IDEAS Form Symmetry Asymmetry One-, two-, and three- dimensional forms.	PROCESSES Observing Recording Comparing

The term, *geometric form*, connotes a specific form defined by specific mathematical characteristics. For example, what specific characteristics define a square? . . . a rectangle? . . . a circle?

Although a spruce tree may not be a mathematically perfect cone, its shape is certainly cone-like. Perhaps the seed cone of the spruce tree was named for its shape. How does the dictionary define cone?

1. *Find natural geometric forms* on your school site. Look for circles, squares, rectangles, triangles, lines, angles, spheres, cubes, and other forms.

   Look for symmetrical and nonsymmetrical (asymmetrical) forms.

   Look at small things like blades of grass, leaves, flowers, stones, and twigs of trees.

   Look at large things such as trees, clouds, and contours of the land.
   Record your observations with sketches or in words. Indicate the kind of form you have recorded.

2. *Find man-made geometric forms.* Look at the building from several points of view. How many different silhouettes can you see? What geometric forms are represented?

   Look at the play areas, the walks, and the fences.

   Record your observations with sketches or in words.

3. *Compare natural forms with man-made forms.* Compare the number of different natural forms you found with the number of man-made forms. Which list is the longest? Which list shows the most symmetry? Which includes the greatest variety?

Note: Some children may be able to make photographic records of their observations.

   A teacher who helped develop this experience made these comments:

   Although the theme was to notice the use of geometric design in nature, many students noticed other geometric figures in their environment. For example,

the shapes of signs, cars, parts of cars, buildings, and parts of buildings were pointed out.

This investigation could be performed later in the spring when many other interesting geometric figures in nature could be found. For example, the shapes of insects' wings, the shapes of different types of leaves, flower petals, and flower centers. A study could be made of symmetry (dynamic or static) in nature.

The investigation was a simple one. It placed emphasis on creative thinking. *The students enjoyed it and the unfavorable weather conditions did not dampen their spirits.*

Here Are Excerpts from Student Reports[2]

"On our math trip outdoors I saw three stones. One stone was triangular shaped. I saw it at the edge of the sidewalk, half buried by the dirt. The second stone was also half buried. This stone was circular. . . ."

"While it was raining, I saw a small oval shaped cloud."

"On the school grounds there is a baseball and football field. The baseball field is a perfect diamond and the football field is oblong."

"Many signs have geometrical shapes. The stop sign is a hexagon. The yield sign is a triangle."

LEARNING TO JUDGE DISTANCE AND SIZE

IDEAS	PROCESSES
Space Relationships	Estimating distance and size
Variables	Measuring
	Communicating
	Quantitative information

Materials: Meter or yard sticks, stakes and string, paper and pencil for recording.

The metric system of units is being used in an increasing number of measurements. Eventually, the British system will be obsolete. It is therefore

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[2] These children had not progressed to describing solids. Tree trunks, bushes, etc. were described as round. Some bushes were "square."

Find out if the children you teach can perceive and describe both two- and three-dimensional figures. Some science programs introduce these ideas (and their vocabulary) to five, six, and seven year olds.

helpful to children to have them learn to use both systems. In this experi-
ence, try to make all measurements in both systems.

1. How far is a STONE'S THROW? Let each person find out. Compare
   your answers. Compute an average. What are the variables in determin-
   ing this distance? Is one person's STONE'S THROW always the same?
   If it varies, what factors cause the variation?

2. Many people use a *pace* to estimate distances. *Pace off 25 feet.* Now
   measure the distance you have paced. How close is your paced estimate
   to the measured distance? Compare length of paces of class members.
   How useful is the *pace* as a unit of measure?

3. What is a *hand*? The height of a certain horse may be 15 hands. What
   does this mean? How might this unit of measure have originated? The
   unit, *hand*, was the breadth of a human hand and was eventually stand-
   ized at 4 inches or 10.16 centimeters. What is the length of the unit,
   hand, for each class member? Measure each person's hand and list the
   measurements. What is the *average* hand for your group? How close is
   this average to the *standard* hand? Account for the difference.

4. The *cubit* of Biblical times is thought to have meant the distance from
   the elbow to the *tip* of the middle finger. This approximates one fourth
   of the person's height. How long (in inches) is a *cubit* if you use your
   own arm as a measuring instrument. Is your cubit equal to one fourth of
   your height?

   Try to explain the following variations of standardized cubits:

British cubit	18. inches or	45.72 centimeters
Egyptian cubit	20.7 inches or	52.5 centimeters
Greek cubit	18.22 inches or	46.29 centimeters
Hebrew cubit	17.58 inches or	44.65 centimeters
Roman cubit	17.5 inches or	44.36 centimeters

5. Find out the origin and sizes of other variable units of measure: *ell,
   digit, perch, league*. Compare the sizes given in your references to the
   ones which your group calculate. Find the history of the British system
   of measurement. Find the history of the metric system. Which is older?
   This study may help give history and literature more meaning. The his-
   tory of measuring time is equally interesting, and there are several chil-
   dren's books available for reference.

6. Estimate a distance of 50 feet. Mark it with stakes. Now measure your
   staked line. Do this several times. Does your skill in estimating improve?
   What did you look at, what did you think about as you improved your
   skill?

7. Estimate the length of one border of your school site:
   (a) by standing out in a playfield and looking at it from a distance.
   (b) by pacing the line.
   Measure the length with a tape, or find the length from a blueprint of
   the site. The principal of a school usually has a blueprint.

8. How many times your own height can you jump? . . . vertically? . . . horizontally? Without a doubt, there will be much variation of ability among members of the group. Perhaps the ability is related to the length of your legs. What fraction of your total body length is the length of your legs? Can class members with proportionally longer legs jump farthest? If not, what other factors may be involved?

9. Compare your performance with that of a frog . . . . of a rabbit . . . . of a grasshopper . . . . a tiny leaf hopper. *Remember* that a frog is sensitive to dryness and heat. Keep its skin wet and try to find a shaded spot for your experiment. A rabbit's ability may best be measured by its tracks. A "happy bunny" makes little hops and does not use its capabilities. Find tracks of a rabbit in a hurry.

10. This experience can be extended to other heights and distances on the school site. Height of a kite may be estimated and then measured by measuring the kite string.

11. Sizes of objects at various distances may be estimated, then measured. Hold a card at arm's length and note that a tree in the distance may appear to be the same height as the card (5"). Yet you say that the tree is 20' or 30' high. Clearly, you have used prior experience making this decision. What we perceive is NOT what we see. Design some experiences to help you *distinguish what you see from what your experience leads you to see.*

12. You "know" that the sun is much larger than the moon, but they appear to be the same size. How do you know that the sun is larger?

OBSERVATION AND CLASSIFYING TECHNIQUES

IDEAS	PROCESSES
Variation of form and of environment	Exploring Observing Classifying Summarizing

"Insects live everywhere." This is not quite true. "Everywhere" is an awful lot of places. Insects do live in a large number of places, or KINDS of places. However, do not be misled. One kind of insect is likely to be restricted to one or a few kinds of places.

Within a half hour, a group of children can gain considerable understanding of the large variety of insects and the large variety of places where they spend their time.

1. Select a central location in a clearing. An ideal spot would be the edge of

a field with access to a small woods, shrubby area, mowed and unmowed field.

2. Give each student a small jar. Direct students to explore in all directions from the "center" but not to go out of sight of the leader. Tell them to hunt IN, ON, and UNDER for insects, and to return when a signal is given. The time you allow them to hunt will depend on the age of the students, the weather, and the interest in the hunt. You, the leader, must stay at the "center" so that you can watch the activities of all of the students. Ten minutes may be enough time to get satisfactory results.

3. Call students back and have them sit in a circle. Let each one tell what he found and where he found it (them). If the class is too large for this procedure, divide it into smaller groups. Let each group pool its findings, then have one member of each group report.

4. Summarize the findings:

   (a) Tabulate number of insects collected by each student.
   What is the total collected by all class members?
   What is the average per student?
   If the "hunt" had continued twice the time, would the total have been twice as great? How do you reach your conclusion? Test your conclusion.

   (b) List the places where insects were found.
   How many insects were ON something . . . how many were IN . . . how many were UNDER?

   (c) Were all of the creatures in the jars insects? Very likely not.
   How do you distinguish insects from other animals?
   What other animal groups were represented? This gives you further information to help you describe the habitat. For example, you can make some tentative statements about creatures with which insects share the habitat. What, if any, relationships exist between (among) the creatures you found in a single place? Who eats whom? Can you find out?

   (d) Now try to state a generalization to answer the question "Where do insects live?" REMEMBER that a generalization is a specific statement which applies to a large number of situations.

   Insect collections are most interesting if they illustrate a principle or an idea.

   Although all insects have the same general pattern of structure (which helps us group them together in the Class Insects of the Phylum Arthropoda), there are hundreds of thousands of different kinds. They vary in shape, size, color, and habitat.

   A "box of insects" is not particularly interesting, but a collection of "pond insects" has some meaning. Following are some suggestions for giving insect collections more meaning. You will be able to add to the list.

   Start a notebook. Keep a record of where and when (date and time of day) you found each insect and what it was doing when you found it.

eliminate the sense of sight and allow children to concentrate more easily on one of the other senses.

1. *Tasty treat.* Plan a classroom party for other than pure entertainment. Blindfold the children and have them taste and describe several food treats. You might use sour balls, peppermint candy, milk chocolate, or other delicacies enjoyed by children. Include some items with little or no taste, such as distilled water. If many of these tastes are new to the children you teach, play the game first without the blindfolds.

How are the tastes different? What words describe each of the various tastes? *CAUTION* children about the dangers of tasting unknown materials without an older person's guidance.

2. *Touch detectives.* Obtain a number of solid and liquid materials for children to feel. Help them learn to describe what they feel, using terms such as rough, smooth, slippery, sticky, soft, hard, wet, dry, square, round, etc.

After some confidence has been gained, play a game of touch detective. Blindfold the children or place the items in a box into which they can put their hands, but cannot see. Use items such as, sandpaper, wood blocks, toothpicks, paper, rubber ball, oil, glue, soap, water.

3. *Hearing sounds.* The world of sounds holds many delights. Children can learn to discriminate among sounds made by wind, percussion and stringed instruments. Let them see, feel, manipulate, and listen to a triangle, drum, piano, and toy wind and stringed instruments. Some teachers allow the children to touch the piano strings lightly while someone strikes a key.

Help the children discriminate between high and low pitch and soft and loud volume. Because these terms are comparative, they are useful only when one sound is compared to another. Notice too, that these words have other meanings. "Soft" is like a pillow or a kitten's fur. "High" is a place you cannot reach or is where the sky is. Children, for whom English is a second language, have more than usual difficulty with words of several meanings.

Sounds in the natural and man-made environment offer excellent opportunity too. Children can close their eyes and lay their heads on their desks and identify the sounds they hear; a jet plane taking off, a truck, a motorcycle, a sparrow chirping. *How many sound makers are near the school?*

4. *The sense of smell helps us identify substances,* and this skill too is developed through experience. Begin the game with familiar odors: chlorine laundry bleach, various kinds of cleaning compounds, foods with distinctive odors. Pungent odors such as ammonia and chlorine may be sniffed lightly but may be irritating if deeply inhaled. Notice that many of the terms we use to describe odors are names of a type of source (roses) or are comparative (good and bad).

Unless we think about what we are doing, we do not realize how many items of information we obtain from seeing in identifying objects and substances.

Record information (or guesses) such as how the wing form, or color, help
the insect survive in its way of life.

1. Arrange collection according to special adaptations:

    insects equipped for digging in soil.

    insect swimmers.

    insects which can hang on to debris in swift flowing streams.

2. Collect insects to illustrate as many wing forms as possible.

    gliders

    swift, short flight wings

    big wings (in relation to body size)

    small wings (in relation to body size)

3. Collect insects whose color or shape or behavior MAY serve as camou-
flage. Notice that camouflage is a human interpretation. A birch bark
moth may not "know" it should rest on a white birch trunk, and may be
found on a dark bark—maybe that is why you found it.

4. Collect insects you find associated with spring flowers . . . . with
summer flowers . . . . with fall flowers.

5. Collect insects associated with one kind of plant.

    milkweed insects   apple tree insects

    goldenrod insects   (select a plant common in your area)

6. Collect insects from one habitat.

    insects on the floor of the woods.

    pond insects

    stream insects

7. Collect insects which are pests of people.

    (mosquitoes, deer flies, etc.)

The county Agriculture Agent can help you get the 4H manual on
insect study. This gives directions for making collections attractive (pinning,
labeling, etc.).

Specific identification is difficult. Most amateurs are content if they
identify their insects to *order*, or at most, to *family*. Keep your goals in mind.
Learning about the insect's way of life does not always necessitate knowing
its name. The name of the Order (and Family, sometimes) helps you use
references to find out more about the animal.

Younger children need opportunities to use each of their senses, one
by one, to help them discriminate and describe and to develop the scientific
skill of observing. What sound is that? How does this feel? Which is
heavier? What is sweet or sour? What smells good? How many shades of
green can you see? Can you see different textures as well as feel them? To
realize that one gets information about the environment through several
senses is to be a better observer and more aware of one's surroundings.

Vocabulary development and increased skills in discriminating are
natural outgrowths of these activities. The following illustrations provide
several ideas to assist you in planning for your children. *Blindfold games*

eliminate the sense of sight and allow children to concentrate more easily on one of the other senses.

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Sounds in the natural and man-made environment offer excellent opportunity too. Children can close their eyes and lay their heads on their desks and identify the sounds they hear; a jet plane taking off, a truck, a motorcycle, a sparrow chirping. *How many sound makers are near the school?*

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Unless we think about what we are doing, we do not realize how many items of information we obtain from seeing in identifying objects and substances.

Call attention to an object which is *too* far away to be touched, tasted, smelled or heard. What is it? It is a big jet plane and its vapor trail. How do you know? I can see its shape and *because* I have seen pictures, I know it is a plane. It doesn't look very big, only a few inches long. How do you know it's a big jet? Pursue this line of questioning to help children realize how many kinds of information they receive by observing and comparing with previous observations. You will notice that many descriptions are actually comparisons and that children's skills increase with the number and variety of experiences they have.

These rich first-hand experiences provide a springboard for study and creative expression and facilitate other types of academic and social growth. As new words are introduced during the process of discovery, interest in the words themselves deepens. This growth in vocabulary development, in turn, aids the child's speaking, listening, writing, and reading skills. Opportunities for looking longer or feeling more deeply cause children to want to talk, write, sing, or draw.

Science experiences are also rich in providing background for understanding mathematical concepts of time, space, size, shape, and measurement. Communication skills are improved as children plan experiences together, share data, and develop conclusions. A sense of group and individual responsibility develops in this type of science program.

A Creative Approach to the Teaching of Science to Disadvantaged Children

DAVID VITROGAN

For the past three years I have conducted successful experiments in the development of meaningful learning experiences with children who have been classified as "slow learners," emotionally disturbed, nonacademic achievers, functionally illiterate, unmotivated, in short, disadvantaged children because they come from the ghettos of a large urban community and have exhibited very little academic achievement in the classroom, as evaluated by standard achievement tests. These culturally, emotionally, socially, and academically deprived children have responded very favorably to the experiences in which I have involved them either in the classrooms of the school which they attend or in special demonstration classes which I have conducted at the science education center at Yeshiva University. I view my experiments as an approach to compensatory education since they were designed to work with so-called "nonreaders" in the upper grades of the elementary school and their major objectives have been:

1. To enable these children to become functionally literate.
2. To provide them with successful learning experiences and develop with these children:
   a) A desire to read and to accept remediation toward their reading difficulties.
   b) An acceptance of the possibility that school is a place where one can gain certain positive socializing experiences.
   c) An awareness that successful school experiences can develop marketable skills essential for occupational careers.

My success in reaching these children can be attributed to three factors:

1. My great desire to reach them.
2. My attitude toward them as individuals who are capable of learning.
3. The creative nature of the experiences in which I involved them, namely, highly challenging science oriented activities.

My desire to reach them was reflected in an attitude which made them aware that I sincerely believed that they could succeed. This attitude inspired con-

fidence and resulted in breaking down the pattern of defeat with which these children had become conditioned to view the typical classroom situation.

Moreover, when it was found that they accepted the challenging science tasks with which they were confronted, they responded quickly not only in terms of the skills and learnings essential to discovering the science concepts involved, but they also participated and derived a great deal of satisfaction from the reading, writing, and verbalizing experiences to which they were exposed. These experiences included reading and writing exercises involving word attack skills, vocabulary development, reading comprehension and descriptive, narrative, and creative writing. Although the reading and writing exercises were concerned with the processes and content of the immediate science experiences they did involve a great deal of contemplation, critical analysis, and the use of abstract ideas and generalization. In short, the successful and motivating science activities were integrated with language arts experiences and these children responded as well as one would expect from normal academic achievers in this age group.

The science activities as well as the language arts experiences with which they were integrated differed from the traditional classroom experiences in two ways, in their content and in the method in which they were presented. Although the science concepts involved would have been included in the elementary-school curriculum for at least a decade, the activities relating to them were designed and presented in a way which the children found very challenging. Moreover, the materials used were improvised from readily available commercial equipment. (Much of this can be found in every classroom.) But to make the experiences meaningful and motivationally exciting to the children a great deal of time and effort was spent in assembling, adapting, and detailing the exercises which were desired. A teacher who sincerely expects to duplicate these results which we have achieved (although it is planned to duplicate both the instructions and the materials which were used commercially through a local publishing house) with any group of children, advantaged or disadvantaged, will devote a great deal of time and sincerely tax her imagination in preparing and adapting the materials for her specific pupils to develop the science concepts involved and especially the exercises for the reading and writing skills she wishes to achieve with her pupils.

But, isn't this what teaching is all about? I am firmly convinced that teachers who really want learning experiences in their classroom are continually using their creative talents and imagination to produce an environment in which the children are challenged to try problems which have real meaning for them. Certainly the teachers with whom I have worked at Yeshiva University in the past three years, both in in-service and pre-service programs, have demonstrated this many times. Also most of the elementary school teachers with whom I have discussed these ideas during the past decade have described their experiences in the classroom and corroborated this observation. Hard work which is generally very time-consuming com-

prises the ingredient of teacher preparation for successful learning experiences when behavioral goals are the objectives of teaching. But the pay-off, as the child develops a pattern for learning how to solve a problem and an attitude that school is a place for learning, provides an emotional satisfaction that no other occupation can equal.

I shall now describe the science experiences and language arts activities with which they were integrated in some detail and provide the rationale, the method, and the content of these activities. When a child recognizes that he is being confronted by a challenging situation, and this is especially true of the disadvantaged child, the challenge from the point of view of motivation adds excitement to the learning by shifting the emphasis from the storage of information and conclusions, which the traditional approach has attempted to elicit unsuccessfully, to processing and interpreting the data which is being presented. When this challenge is coupled with the opportunity for a self-directed and self-correcting learning experience it *heightens self-esteem by providing the child with a sense of intellectual power*. He is challenged *to feel more competent, to acquire new meanings* through his own operations. He becomes less dependent and more autonomous in his learnings. This combination individualizes the process of conceptual growth. The child in such a self-learning situation is enabled to program his own learning through the control of the data intake and processing. *It enables him to approach the solution he is seeking in a manner most compatible with his own cognitive needs and styles.*

A Science Skill Center was designed and operated as part of the NDEA 1968 Summer Institute for Teachers in Grades 6–9, in which 40 teachers participated. These teachers were provided with the opportunity to participate in demonstration centers working with some 90 children, whose reading scores ranged from 3.0 to 8.5, ranging in age from 11 to 14 and attending lower Manhattan schools. Thirty of these children worked in the Science Skills Center and included ten from the top third, ten from the middle third, and ten from the lower third on the basis of their pretest reading scores on the California Achievement Scale. It was anticipated that there would be *peer-to-peer teaching and from such a grouping it was found that the children who read would assist the poor readers with the instructions in carrying out the tasks. The children also attended the Reading Skill Centers* where they were engaged in a self-directed word study and work study skills, reading comprehension, and literature writing skills. These Skill Centers are learning laboratories where the children work individually or in small groups, interacting with self-directing materials which are matched to diagnosed needs. The centers were directed by teachers who diagnosed the needs of the pupils, matched materials to individual needs, and provided information to the pupils when they required it. *The pupils checked their own progress, since the materials which were programmed to meet the individual needs are also self-correcting.* The results of such learning laboratories are high

intensity learning, high motivation, measurable gains in reading achievement and most important a desire to read.

The science skills center provided for the thirty children an opportunity to engage in self-directing and self-correcting learning experiences which integrate reading with a highly motivating science experiment. In addition the science experiment also provided the pupil with a concrete meaning for the words which were involved in the experiment. Moreover, feedback for self-correcting was provided by means of a perceptual check on whether a solution for the science problem posed was obtained.

Integration of Language Arts and Science

In structuring a language arts experience based upon a science activity the following outline was used for each individual science activity:

I. *Introductory Paragraph*
   A motivating statement which introduces the pupil to the activity, exciting his curiosity to explore the physical phenomenon and its relation to the world about him; this introduction also indicates some of the understanding which is needed to carry out the investigation.

II. *Vocabulary Development*
   A self-directing, self-correcting kit which includes:
   Words and Pictures—Flashcards in Envelopes
   Words Using Directions in Carrying Out the Experiment—Flashcards in Envelopes
   Meanings of the Words in Context of the Experiment
   Multi-meanings of Words Beyond the Experiment to Be Used Later for Verbalization and Creative Writing Experiences

III. *Reading the Directions for Carrying Out the Experiment*
   Identifying the Parts to Be Used in the Experiment
   Writing a Parts List
   Reading Directions for Assembly of the Equipment for Carrying Out the Experiment
   It is suggested that these three tasks be mastered first by the pupil and that he is satisfied through his own evaluation of the completion of these tasks prior to continuing the science activity; but he may proceed at his own rate and continue at times prior to such mastery. It was observed that for some children, in the beginning of the activities, it was essential for them to succeed in learning the science principle first but greater interest and greater mastery was shown even by those children who at first preferred to carry out the physical experiment.

IV. *Performing the Experiment*
   Following the Directions Provided
   Recording the Necessary Observations in Order to Complete the Task

V. *Writing a Descriptive Paragraph Based upon the Experiment Performed*

Pupil is directed to write a simple description of what he did, emphasizing the purpose and function of each part of the equipment he used and what he observed. He is also asked to make any necessary drawings which may elucidate what he did.

VI. *Comprehension Check*

The pupil responds to a short paragraph which describes what he should have observed and some of the possible inferences he might make. He answers questions based upon the above written paragraph and checks his answer against a prepared list. Here his comprehension of the reading experience is used, while at the same time he is asked to review the science concept which he has mastered.

VII. *Pupil's Written Description of the Total Experience*

A descriptive paragraph which explores his conception of what he did as a result of the experiment performed and the reading and writing experiences described above. Essentially he now responds in terms of his understanding of the science concepts learned and the reading experiences in which he has been engaged. He can be guided into such a writing experience by means of a series of open-ended questions or motivated to write a creative paragraph.

VIII. *Feedback*

Pupil is asked to identify the various parts of the experiment, the functions that they serve in solving the problems, the reason for the procedure that was used in solving the problems. He is also asked to write sentences which require the use of words within the context of the experiment in multi-meaning context. Self-checking is provided throughout this exercise.

The experiments which were used included a number of experiments in electricity; the assembly of a flashlight, an electromagnet, a bell, and a motor. Since each pupil responded to an instructional program working in his own individual booklet and using his own answer sheets, samples of the pupil's work are included in the appendix. (*Sample Books are available for inspection upon request.*)

Other tasks involved experiments in light transmission, reflection, refraction, and dispersion. In one experiment the children built a kaleidoscope. In another they produced a spectrum by use of a plastic replica of a diffraction grating. Some experiments were concerned with indirect measurements of large distances, learning how habits are formed, and the processes involved in solving problems.

An example of one of these experiments is outlined below and shows the steps used in developing the language arts experience.

CHANGING SHAPES

I. Introduction

The *imagination* of the young child remains with us as we grow up, and how *wonderful* it is that it does. Daydreaming on a *beautiful* day can take many forms, and on a lazy sunny summer *afternoon*, no matter where we may be, as long as we are out of doors, we can look up at the clouds and *imagine* that the passing clouds take on any *fanciful* form we may want. Passing clouds can become for us flying fish or elephants, skyscrapers or rockets, indeed any beautiful form that we wish to see. The same imagination will *enable* us to see many beautiful, fanciful, and *changing forms* when we look through the *kaleidoscope* which we will make in this *experiment*. Just as we know that we are really looking at clouds, although the forms we imagine may be continually *changing*, so the *patterns* and *designs* which we see *continually* changing when we look through the kaleidoscope, which we will build, must be the workings of our own imagination. These patterns are really our own and we cannot *share* them with any one else. There is *something* beautiful about having something which belongs to each and *everyone* of us alone and which no one else can have.

II. Vocabulary Development

Select the vocabulary cards with the same words that have been underlined in the above paragraph. Write them on the card provided. Do you know what they mean? Look at the flashcards which have a picture next to the word. Does this help you understand the meaning of these words?

Underline the words listed below when you find them in the directions given below:

metal	shaped	together
mirror	hinged	long
gummed	inside	edges
tape	board	narrow

Find the flashcards with these words. Do you know the meaning of all of these words? Do you know what to do to find the meaning of all these words? If you do, go ahead and check them out. Look at the answer card which has been given you to check your understanding of those words whose meaning escaped you.

III. Directions for Making a Kaleidoscope

Look at the material which has been given you and place a check next to each part.

two metal mirrors ———— one V-shaped piece of cardboard ————
gummed tape ———— a pencil ———— a piece of colored paper ————

IV. Put the two mirrors face-to-face to make a narrow V-shape. Hinge together the long edges with the gummed tape. Put the hinged mirrors inside of the V-shaped cardboard. Hold the cardboard with one hand, near the corner of the V, and be prepared to look through the other end.

V. Did you enjoy looking through your kaleidoscope? Yes____ No____
What did you like best?
What did you imagine you would see when you looked at your partner through your kaleidoscope?

Look through the store-bought kaleidoscope and try to see where the object that you are looking at is. Can you identify the object? Describe the image as you see it. Say something about its color and its symmetry, the number of images you see, and how you feel when you see more than one image.

VI. What causes the images that you see inside of the kaleidoscope? Before you answer this question turn the kaleidoscope around so that you may look into the opposite side. Do you see the two mirrors? Yes ____ No ____. How large is the angle between them? 10 degrees ____ 20 degrees ____ 30 degrees ____. Set your kaleidoscope at the same angle and measure it with the protractor provided. Now look at the same object that you looked at with the store kaleidoscope. Is there any difference in the image you see? ____ If there is, change the angle until the image is the same. Keep trying until you are satisfied. Now explain the difference that still exists.

VII. Since there is no real object inside the store kaleidoscope but there is one in the kaleidoscope you made, can you explain why you still see the image in the store one? Try to imagine a world where nothing is real but everything is only an image of the real thing. How would you feel about such a world?

☼ Unit Boxes Aid Teaching Science to Slow Learners

WILL ROSS

Unit boxes that I used early in my teaching career for a quite different purpose are proving very useful in some present work with a group of slow learners.

In my first years of teaching, I found myself in a position commonly referred to as the "roving science teacher." I was a gypsy assigned to teach in several classrooms a day, and since the rooms were seldom equipped with any science teaching material or apparatus, all my accouterments had to go along with me.

In the first year, I really had nothing. By my second and third year, I had acquired the use of a moving science table which was some help. Additional help came from audio-visual crews (students to move equipment) and science lab assistants. In that third year I even managed to teach in a classroom equipped for science.

After three years of teaching in this fashion, I found that I had collected a vast amount of material on several topics. Most of it was used at some time in the year in either my ninth- or tenth-grade biology classes. I had also begun to stow the material in cardboard boxes (the type our mimeo and ditto fluid come in) labeled heat, light, ecology, embryology, zoology, botany, physiology, sound, etc. The boxes were a poor substitute for a filing system, but they were the best I had.

Out of desperation and disgust with unwieldy cardboard boxes, and to devise a satisfactory means of transporting the material from room to room, I finally constructed wooden cases designed not only to hold the material for a particular unit but also to keep it ready for instant display in any classroom.

For the design, I borrowed some ideas I had observed students use to display projects at science fairs. The case itself was, in effect, a wooden box hinged in the middle and fitted with shelves. The outside framework and inside shelves were ¼-inch pine, and the sides were ¼-inch plywood. Eventually I reduced the weight and cost by using ⅛-inch pressed hardboard for the sides and ½-inch pine for the shelves. I also found that nails and glue are as satisfactory as the original screws. The accompanying drawing gives an idea of the general design of the boxes.

At the conclusion of the period the box could be closed and toted to

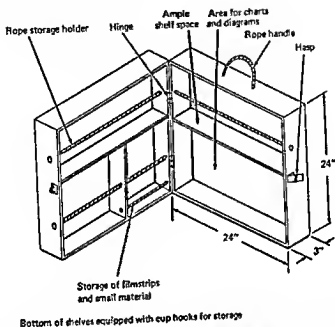Bottom of shelves equipped with cup hooks for storage

Fig. 1. *This drawing shows the author's basic unit box. Modifications can be built in to suit the particular subject matter and equipment to be included in the box.*

the next class or stored in a classroom until that particular set of material was needed again. Eventually I found a closet in one room, and, with the help of some shop students, constructed shelves in the form of racks on which to store the boxes.

Everything from specimens to entire lab units of work were stored in these first boxes, and good-size charts or illustrations could be glued on the outside as appropriate.

These teaching unit boxes were a great help while I was a roving teacher, and I realize now that they also taught me a good deal about effectively organizing and displaying material.

At this point in my career I came to Yorktown to participate in a team-project approach to teaching selected slow learners in ninth, tenth, and eleventh grades. Here, the teachers of math, social studies, science, and English have been organized into a team to try to combine skills and experiences to motivate success in these youngsters who have had a history of failure.

I soon found that what the slow learner was taught was not as important as how he was taught. The attention span for the students was seven to fifteen minutes. Interest in anything that seemed to be like regular classroom work was lacking. Reading ability was low, and in some cases non-existent. The traditional approach to class presentation had to be altered. With the advice of our reading consultant, Muriel Garten, I attempted to

set up a modified version of the old reading carrel, using display cases similar to the teaching boxes described above.

For this group of students, I tried to isolate, for a given topic, the important, easily understood concepts, experiments, and audio-visual materials available and put them in a box that could be opened to form the sides of a study space, that would hold the interest of the student and minimize outside distractions, and that could be worked at for short periods and be easily put away for the next day. Everything for the unit was in the box, even including pencils and paper.

The boxes were organized to read from left to right, just as a book is read, but there the resemblance ended. Each created a complete environment —with plenty of doing interspersed with materials to be read or studied. Each box had a question sheet and directions on a clipboard, hung on the inside cover. Each was also equipped with 3 x 5-inch vocabulary cards, with words and meanings on the back of each card. The vocabulary was appropriate to the area of study and in simple enough terms for the students to understand.

Picture clues were attached on the inside of the box, and caption headings, drawings, etc., pertaining to the area of study were glued in place. So far as possible, all of the material for the experiments was placed inside the boxes. To facilitate the individual use of the boxes, individual headsets, phone-jacks, and a reading lamp were placed in all of the boxes. Some boxes contained tape recordings and records to cover a basic approach to the subject matter.

As the ideas began to flow in from colleagues and other interested on-lookers as to how a unit should be constructed, I felt somewhat like a Broadway play director: consider artistic design, they said; use programed material as necessary; plan correct color combinations; keep reading comprehensible; construct the boxes light enough; make the units interchangeable; even include background music where appropriate. The problems were not those of lack of material. Instead I found I had entirely too much material, and deciding what to use and what to throw away was quite a problem.

Surprisingly enough the most interesting and exciting material for the boxes came from the students themselves. After constructing a few samples and using them in class, I soon had some of the students building boxes in shop class. The students also made some very simple 8 mm movie films in class on selected topics which we are going to have put into cartridge form and use in film loops in several of the boxes in the future. The students also made up tape recordings that are included in the boxes, as well as shared the writing and drawing of the material. The best boxes we have at present are the ones the students have built, right down to the 35 mm slides that they have taken for the units.

At present our students work on unit boxes only about fifteen minutes a day, two days a week. They go at their own speed, and when one unit is completed, they go on to others. Only five units are required as a minimum

each year, but I have yet to have a student complete fewer than eight units in a given year. In fact, at times I have to limit the amount of time that they spend on the boxes. This fact alone speaks for itself.

Of course, this technique is *not* the only answer for either slow or fast students, but *does* have merit when used with many other techniques. I believe that such an approach would also work with the more gifted students, taking into account the fact that the units must be constructed to be more challenging. I have recently used a unit box on genetics, which I set up in the corner of a room for a class in Regents Biology. The students seemed to learn from it and commented that it was a novel and different approach to the subject matter. If a school system has a science library or convenient place for science materials, a few unit boxes so placed might add to the interest in a subject for outside or extra-credit work.

Materials List

For one box:

¼- or ½-inch x 3 inches pine—16 board feet
¼-inch plywood or ⅛-inch hardboard—8 square feet
Nails, glue, hinges, hasp, rope, scrap wood for shelves
Varnish, paint

Internal equipment:

Photographs and drawings	Audio tapes
Clipboard	Phone-jack and headset
Paper, pencils	8 mm cartridges
Filmstrip	Tape recorder
Filmstrip viewer	Typewriter

Inexpensive boxes can be built and equipped for under $10, using a central film viewer, tape, film, and filmstrip file. If more funds are available, an elaborate unit can be constructed with portable typewriter, cartridge tape, film machine, rear projection screen, and supplementary science experiments.

Topics for units used with ninth- and tenth-grade science:

Astronomy	Human Body
Botany	Invertebrates
Chemistry	Light
Circulation	Nutrition
Color	Ornithology
Conservation	Photography
Earth Science	Reproduction
Ecology	Vertebrates
Embryology	Reading, S.Q.R.
Genetics	Getting the First Job

What Science Teachers Can Learn
from Our Urban Job Corps Experience

HUGH B. WOOD

The Urban Job Corps Centers have provided an opportunity for many a classroom teacher's dream to come true—a chance to design and develop a curriculum and to try out methods, free of the constrictions of accrediting and college entrance "standards," academically oriented parents, and a parsimonious budget. It is possible now to examine urban job corps programs and determine what the first year's experience has wrought in the area of science. In most centers, teachers have participated in program design and development and have had the freedoms suggested by this "dream." With what result?

Perhaps the most startling response to this freedom was a general disdain for the inclusion of any science in the basic program.[1] Most of the centers omitted science in their original curriculums or included limited concepts or units (such as consumer science) in social studies or general education areas. This error was quickly rectified as a result of pressure from the vocational teachers who wanted their "related work" strengthened and from the trainees themselves who revealed strong science interests in spite of their frequently expressed dislike for the conventional science courses.

Science specialists were employed, and a science program has been developed that is now enthusiastically accepted by most trainees, the same students who rejected further schooling less than a year earlier. In some centers, the basic science is integrated into a general education program; in others, it is integrated into vocational education; and in still others, it is taught as a separate area. At this moment it seems to be successful in all three types of organization. Elective, or enrichment, science is offered separately in all centers.

Science Curriculum

The science curriculum, in general, comprises three broad approaches. First, there is a definite need for vocationally oriented science, and each

[1] Most centers have a *basic* program required of all trainees and consisting of those learnings essential to vocational, social, civic, and personal competence, and an *elective* program for general enrichment.

trainee is enrolled in a basic vocational science program. This is sometimes taught by the vocational teacher, sometimes by a science teacher, and sometimes by both as a team. The last arrangement seems to have the greatest advantages. The basic program includes what vocational teachers have long referred to as "related classes." The science of movement and operation, simple reasons for mechanical arrangements, minimum knowledge needed to disassemble and assemble machines—these types of experiences are the backbone of *basic vocational science*. In most centers, these units are matched by "theory" units in *elective courses*. For example, a *basic* unit might involve the construction of various types of carburetors and tracing the gasoline, air, and resulting gases through the machine. The corresponding *elective* unit would deal with the chemistry of combustion. It should be noted that the vocational science courses are tailored to each vocation, some centers having as many as 20 different vocational science course (electronics vocations obviously require different science support than auto mechanics). Science teachers must pace their courses with trainee progress in vocational shops.

Second, there is need for consumer science in varying degrees. Most centers require a course involving minimum understandings for the consumer (e.g., personal health, science around the home, science in the community, and perhaps science in politics). The elective program includes advanced general courses and specific offerings dealing with consumer problems.

Third, most centers offer several elective science courses of general interest or need (e.g., space science, astronomy, mineralogy, and anatomy), and sometimes the three conventional science courses needed by those attempting to complete their high school diploma requirements.

learning. Trainees make much of their own equipment. One center is building a telescope in the astronomy class. Several centers have units on constructing and assembling electric guitars, stereo sets, television sets, and other electronic devices. Several centers have developed their own radio stations, closed circuit or otherwise. At least one center plans to build a greenhouse; several have aquariums and herbariums; one center is developing a small farm with growing plants and typical farm animals. Trainees are encouraged to design and invent; creative design is stressed in art classes.

Emphasis is on the dramatic. Many of the units have truly challenging approaches. One unit begins with the question, "Can man create life?" One is entitled "From astronomy to astronauts." The do-it-yourself electronic kits provide a lead to the science of sound. One center has a continuous activity centering around science current events. One art teacher brings in a science teacher to deal with the science of color.

Excursions are used frequently by most centers to capitalize on extensive resources in the communities, to create and satisfy interests, and to develop job corps/community interaction. Natural phenomena, museums, industries, and educational and scientific laboratories are among the many resources utilized.

All centers, of course, use audiovisual materials and similar instructional aids in the science programs.

Public school science teachers should examine carefully the developments in the urban job corps centers and should re-examine the content and methodology of their own programs with a view to developing a science program for *all* youth, not only those destined for college.

PART SIX

Teaching Mathematics

The authors in this section agree on several points related to the effective teaching of mathematics to disadvantaged children. Disadvantaged children, they tell us, need concrete types of mathematical experiences as a basis for understanding number theories and operations. (Advantaged children would need these same experiences. However, they are usually provided in an incidental way in most middle-class homes.)

Learning activities that provide opportunities for children to discover principles and relationships are superior to rote-type activities. Thus, modern mathematics is an appropriate approach for both advantaged and disadvantaged students. The first two articles, which are different reports of the same early education research project carried out in two cities, provide some positive guidance on this point. Many of the learning activities suggested in the other five articles are also based on the rationale of modern mathematics programs. This approach may surprise many readers who have probably been taught that the mathematically disabled student learns best from exercises that require memorization. As Fremont and Ehrenberg point out in their provocative report, the assumption that the student who seems incapable of memorizing basic arithmetic facts and processes is also incapable of understanding numbers or reasoning mathematically is probably false.

The authors of the last five articles, all of which deal with teaching "remedial" arithmetic to older children, remind us that, as in the teaching of remedial reading, new methods and materials must be found to help youngsters modify their perception of remedial classes as the "same old baby-stuff." As one reads these reports, he is impressed by the fact that the teachers who wrote them spent much of their own time developing their materials, inventing mathematical games, and creating instructional devices in order to implement the type of program they believed to be appropriate for disadvantaged students. The reader may be frustrated because there is not sufficient detailed information in some of the articles (notably Proctor's) to enable him to incorporate the suggested activities immediately into his own program. But, if the reader is as energetic and optimistic as the writers of the articles, he will develop materials and activities appropriate to his teaching situation.

❀ Teaching the Culturally Disadvantaged Child

BILLY J. PASCHAL

The Miami Project

The Miami Project* is an experimental research study in the teaching of mathematics to culturally disadvantaged children which is currently being conducted in a segregated neighborhood elementary school located in a Negro slum area.† The aim of this research is to develop teaching materials and techniques that provide disadvantaged children with experiences necessary for the formation of the fundamental concepts of mathematics and that develop the intellectual abilities of the children to the fullest.

Thirty culturally disadvantaged children in one first-grade class were taught mathematics thirty minutes per day by a mathematics expert, Dr. Mary Folsom of the University of Miami. The class used special materials and the SMSG students' text.[1] The author, an educational psychologist, observed the children throughout the year and evaluated their performance.

The thinking upon which this study is based concerns the differential in school-relevant experiences between middle-class and lower-class children prior to school entrance. Disadvantaged children seem to lack many of the experiences which facilitate school learning. Some of the factors which contribute to decreased adaptation to the classroom and increased difficulties in learning are absence of books in the home, lack of set family routines, lack of enough possessions to learn sharing, poor estimate of self, insufficient language and reading skills, inadequate motivation, poor health, antagonism toward the school, and frequent moving.

The major areas of investigation are the home situation, experiences prior to school entrance, and the ability of the children to learn mathematics. Three assessments were given during the course of the year. The initial

assessment included the following: object recognition, color recognition, ability to understand and follow verbal directions, number concept, and visual imagery. The second assessment included the following: vocabulary, pairing, ordering, number concept, and ability to understand and follow directions, and matching, naming, and identifying geometric shapes. The third assessment included the following: naming and identifying colors, naming and identifying geometric shapes, place value, marking number symbols, counting given sets, recognition of number symbols, rote cardinal number, rote cardinal counting by tens, ordinal number, visual memory, and classification of geometric shapes.

Gloria F. Leiderman[2] presented a paper to a SMSG conference in Chicago in April, 1964. Mrs. Leiderman's major thesis, derived from developmental approaches, is that the slow-learning group consists of some children, perhaps a majority, who are retarded in their mental development because their contact with their physical and social environment was deficient during their early formative years. She deduced three hypotheses from the above thesis.

1. A deficiency in verbal development during the early years will have adverse effects on children's later ability to solve problems.
2. A deprivation of contact with the kind of environment necessary to develop inner cues, hypotheses or signals (ability to abstract, to use symbolic cues for prediction purposes) will lead to limited problem-solving ability.
3. Children coming from more culturally disadvantaged groups in the population will contribute in larger proportion to the slow-learning groups than will children from more advantaged groups.

The audio-lingual method of teaching is basically a method of sustained practice in the use of the language in the relationship of teacher-speaker, student-hearer, student-speaker situations. This is essentially the method employed by the Miami Project. The teacher of culturally disadvantaged children should realize that these children have had a limited background of experiences in auditory attention to adult speech. They are not used to listening to adults talk, so they do not know how to concentrate, and their attention wanders. The teacher must develop the auditory attention of these children. It can be developed with the games format by asking a question and allowing children their turn.

The Miami Project is trying to develop efficient oral habits (psychological) by subjecting disadvantaged children to a specific environment where the SMSG vocabulary is spoken. The children are expected to derive meaning from the ideas and concepts presented without being able to read or without visualizing their written forms.

Directional shifts in IQ may result from exposure to special environ-

[2] School Mathematics Study Group, *Conference on Mathematics Education For Below Average Achievers*, Cooperative Research Branch, Office of Education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Stanford: Leland Stanford Junior University, April, 1964), pp. 47–48.

mental influences. Since most IQ tests include vocabulary questions, subjecting children to an intensive vocabulary drill may raise their IQ. Their IQ may also be raised in a special environment where an extensive vocabulary is in constant use. The same is true of mathematics where children are subjected to a special environment. The disadvantaged children in the Miami Project are taught mathematics thirty minutes every school day. They are in an environment where a mathematics vocabulary is in constant use.

In teaching vocabulary the teacher always uses the correct term, but never places emphasis on children using the correct term at this level. A child may have a basic understanding of the concept, i.e., *as many as*, but he may not be able to say "as many as." His understanding can be tested as follows: "Here are two sheets of paper. I am going to place some blocks on this sheet. You place as many blocks on this paper (pointing to the empty sheet) as I have placed on this sheet (pointing to the sheet with the blocks on it)." The child may not receive the praise he deserves when the teacher insists upon the use of correct terminology. He is a physical learner and not a symbolic learner. Those involved in the experiment believe vocabulary will come with practice, repetition, and time. Repetition *per se*, doing exactly the same thing over and over again, does not teach. Therefore, the action must be varied so that the learner will progress to advanced stages of performance.

Games Format

Elementary school teachers who have worked with disadvantaged children know that one of the best ways to involve them in a learning activity is to make it into a game. This is also true for all children to some extent, but it is especially true of the disadvantaged.

Teachers have told about disadvantaged children eating cookies which suggest geometric shapes, i.e., rectangles and triangles. This helped the class understand corners, sides, etc., at the kindergarten and first-grade levels. Originally, these teachers had found it extremely difficult to interest the disadvantaged children in these concepts, but the excitement of a game attracted considerable attention and provided a good beginning for discussion on a more abstract level. As the children gained experiences with geometric shapes, they were in a position to verbalize about them.

One of the aspects of mental growth and development involves an increase in the ability to concentrate for progressively longer periods of time. Young children have short attention spans and their ability to keep at a given task without suffering from fatigue is correspondingly limited. Attention span is a function of the level of motivation. It is misleading to say, as some have, that the attention span of children increases with age. Attention span increases with motivation and maturation.

Disadvantaged children do not get involved in problems easily, but once they do become concerned with mathematical concepts they are often

able to work steadily for long periods of time. This seems to be characteristic of the physical learner. They are usually slow learners as compared to "symbolic" learners, especially in the *initial stages of the learning activity*. They need to "do and see," and this takes time. It is important for them to be successful initially and to be rewarded for their effort. They need confidence in themselves to experiment further. They need an atmosphere which is conducive to learning and one which affords a sense of security. The typical six-year-old child thinks he deserves a reward for any behavior. He feels he deserves praise in everything he does. He can never get enough of it. Teachers need not fear that too much praise will spoil him. He will clown; he will tell tall tales; he will distract others; he will not sit quietly; and he will be eager to have his turn.

The natural thrust of motivation can be clearly seen in kindergarten and first-grade students. There is an almost limitless desire to know, to find out about things. Those who have worked with disadvantaged first-graders are familiar with their requests: "Let me feel," "Let me try," "Let me see," "Let me taste," and so on. Here the whole world of things and people is their subject matter, and they research it in their own way. They are aware of their limited experience and are eager to use all of their natural resources to see what the unknown is like.

It is quite likely that disadvantaged children achieve a different kind of understanding of a problem than do other children. Slow learners may become poor learners due to the treatment they receive in the classroom. Teachers tend to reward speed; therefore, physical learners or slow learners are discouraged and do not develop.

What is the origin of the games orientation of the disadvantaged? Frank Riessman[3] says, "Apparently, it is related to their down-to-earth, spontaneous approach to things. Their extra-verbal communication (motoric, visual) is usually called forth in games, most of which are not word-bound. Also, most games (not all, by any means) are person-centered and generally are concerned with direct action and visible results. Games are usually sharply defined and structured, with clear-cut goals. The rules are definite and can be readily absorbed. The deprived child enjoys the challenge of the game and feels he can 'do' it; this is in sharp contrast to many verbal tasks."

The purpose of the games format of teaching is to formulate problems so children can solve them and will solve them. This implies that *children are motivated and have the appropriate readiness to solve the problems because they have sufficient background in the content*. There is an implicit suggestion that teaching can be effective when it matches and extends children's residues of past experience with respect to content. The influence may be interpersonal, as between teacher and children. It may also be primarily between children and the content. Children are motivated to please the teacher. They have a psychological need to achieve, and if they perceive

3 Frank Riessman. *The Culturally Deprived Child* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 71.

that their teacher values their achievement, the teacher has an influence base and the range of influence is greatly extended.

Everyone likes to be able to accomplish what he sets out to do and to feel that his accomplishments are worthwhile. The need for achievement is closely related to success, failure, and aspiration. Our schools often make it difficult for disadvantaged children to satisfy their need for achievement. Our schools need to and can be more vital and dynamic to the disadvantaged. It is time for teachers to pay closer attention to the diversification of instruction and assignment so that children are challenged to the level of their ability and experience.

The games format also helps maintain the unified attention of the class, and gives children practice in listening as well as in speaking. Frequently, disadvantaged children have not learned how to ask and answer questions, how to study, or how to relate to the teacher. The games format provides the skilled teacher opportunities to help these children develop school "know-how."

Physical Situations

One of the hypotheses of this study concerns the ability to abstract, to use symbolic cues for prediction purposes. If children have been deprived of contact with the kind of environment necessary to develop these inner cues, then their ability to handle problem-solving tasks will be limited. Disadvantaged children need to depend more upon concrete events and properties of a situation than upon the development of the ability to abstract common elements and make predictions.

One of the aspects of mental growth and development involves an increase in the ability to deal with the abstract and with symbols in manipulating one's environment. Probably no other aspect reveals more clearly children's mental development than their ability to use language.

The size of children's vocabularies is the best single indicator of their mental ability. M. E. Smith[4] points out that language development is most rapid in early years with the average spoken vocabulary of children reaching from 150 words at age two to some 2500 words as they enter school. They can recognize nearly four times as many.

What is the *vocabulary pattern of the disadvantaged?* Kenneth Eells and Robert J. Havighurst[5] point out that disadvantaged children use a large number of words with precision, but these words are not the ones used in school. Basil Bernstein[6] believes that disadvantaged groups are deficient in

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[4] M. E. Smith, *An Investigation of the Development of the Sentence and the Extent of Vocabulary in Young Children* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Studies on Child Welfare, 3, No. 5, 1926).

[5] Kenneth Eells et al., *Intelligence and Cultural Differences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 43.

[6] Basil Bernstein, "A Public Language," *British Journal of Sociology*, XI (December, 1959), 311–323.

"formal language" as opposed to a "public language." Public language, the language of the disadvantaged, does not determine success in the middle-class school. Charles E. Silberman[7] points out that, educationally, the root of the problem is that disadvantaged youngsters do not learn to read properly in the first two grades. He also points out that difficulty in handling abstract concepts is a part of the problem. One of the findings reported by the Institute for Developmental Studies, under the direction of Martin Deutsch, is that disadvantaged children seem to understand more language than they speak.[8]

Disadvantaged children are capable of developing abstract, symbolic thinking. They appear to develop this type of thinking in a more indirect fashion. Goals must be immediate, tangible, and topical; learning activities must be concrete. These children require many examples before they understand. This process is slower than that used with the "symbolic" learner.

Riessman[9] points out that, "Abstract thinking is ultimately rooted in concrete sensory phenomena." He also says that throughout the course of our educational experience most of us come to appreciate abstractions for their own sake. We can appreciate abstractions without seeing concrete applications, but this is not true of disadvantaged children.

Teachers of disadvantaged children must approach abstractions from the physical world, the immediate, and the tangible. For example, children should recognize that certain very simple geometric figures are suggested by many objects which they see and use every day.[10] These geometric figures are rectangles, circles, and triangles. Squares are rectangles of a special kind. Teachers show children circular, rectangular, or triangular pieces of construction paper, flannel, metal, etc., and they point out that it is the edge or border that determines the shape. It is the figure suggested by the border *only* that is called a circle, rectangle, or triangle. Teachers use models of circles, rectangles, and triangles made of wire (starched string, pipe-cleaners, etc.) to emphasize *this point.*

Children should be able to distinguish and describe points or locations according to whether they *are inside, outside* or *on the representation of a given circle, rectangle,* or *triangle.* They should see that a circle is *round* and *smoothly curved,* while a triangle has three straight *sides* and three *corners,* and a rectangle has four sides and four corners that look alike (actually, they are *right angles*).

Size is another distinction teachers try to convey to children. One circle is *larger than* or *smaller than* another circle; one side of a triangle or rectangle

7 Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 268.

8 Martin Deutsch, mimeographed report from the Institute for Developmental Studies, Department of Psychiatry, New York Medical College.

9 Riessman, *op. cit.,* p. 68.

10 School Mathematics Study Group, *Mathematics for the Elementary School, Book K,* National Science Foundation (Stanford: Leland Stanford Junior University, 1963), pp. 12–14.

is *longer than* or *shorter than* a side of another triangle or rectangle; one object is the same in size or length to another object, etc.

The teacher displays models of circles, triangles, rectangles, and squares, and asks if anyone knows the name of a particular shape. The teacher will supply the name if necessary and let the children run their fingers around the models. The teacher asks the children if they can find objects in the room that are shaped like a circle. Then, the teacher asks if they can find objects outside the classroom that are shaped like triangles, etc.

The teacher has a box of geometric shapes which have been prepared prior to the class. The children are instructed to turn their backs to the class in front of the room with their hands behind them. An object is placed in their hands by the teacher and each child tells what shape he has. The children take turns, and the game lasts until all shapes are used.

The teacher places different sized geometric shapes (also three-dimensional shaped figures) around the room prior to the children's entrance. When the children are in their seats, the teacher holds up an object shaped like a triangle and has the children identify it. The children are given a certain amount of time to see how many objects shaped like a triangle can be found. Then, the teacher holds up another geometric shape, etc.

"I'm Thinking Of" is a very popular game with these children since they demonstrate a surprising ability for fantasy or pretending.

The Miami Project utilizes a variety of multisensory teaching materials and the SMSG experimental books. George J. Mouly[11] points out that, "Generally, the more sense organs stimulated, the more effective the learning." There are a great many physical and visual techniques available to teachers, such as flannel boards, magnetic boards, teaching machines, number lines, geometric shapes, disks, blocks, and numeral cards.

Attitudinal Elements in Determining Effectiveness

Disadvantaged children suffer from an overall poverty of environment—visual, verbal, and tactile. Their environment provides few opportunities to manipulate and organize the visual properties. They like to touch objects and people—especially their teacher. They need respect rather than love from their teacher. Respect is something that they have been deprived of in the culture at large. They need someone on whom they can depend and someone who will stand by them.

They need a classroom atmosphere which is conducive to learning, and one which provides security. It should be a secure teacher-pupil relationship in which children feel free to express both negative and positive feelings without guilt or expectation of criticism.

Teaching disadvantaged children does not consist of gimmicks or a bag of tricks. Much more decisive are certain basic attitudes. These attitudes

11 George J. Mouly, *Psychology for Effective Teaching* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961), p. 259.

are nonverbal in nature and must be conveyed by the teacher through her actions to a perceptive learner. "Your actions speak so loud that I cannot hear what you are saying." It is necessary that children perceive, to a minimal degree, the genuineness and unconditional acceptance of the teacher if she is to change behavior.

Perhaps the best overall principle is to be consistent. Disadvantaged children want a teacher on whom they can depend. If they are told one day not to do something, the teacher cannot permit them to do it the next. They need a consistent frame of reference with boundaries for their classroom behavior. The more the teacher is experiencing a warm, positive, acceptant attitude toward children, the more learning is likely to occur.

Teaching can be either a trade, a science, or an art depending on whether the teacher operates at the routine level or uses imagination and ingenuity based on a thorough grasp of scientific principles and procedures.

⚛ Modern Mathematics and the Disadvantaged

ALICE JONES AND ELIZABETH SUTTLES

In September 1965 a pilot program of modern mathematics under the direction of the School Mathematics Study Group at Stanford University was conducted in the Dumas Elementary School's kindergarten and first grade classes. The Dumas Elementary School, located in Chicago, was one of six participating schools. All six are located in school districts which have a large culturally disadvantaged population. The schools are located in Chicago, Washington, D.C., Boston, Oakland, Miami, and Detroit.[1]

The purpose of the program, as stated in the report of the School Mathematics Study Group (S.M.S.G.) was to determine the effectiveness of existing S.M.S.G. materials when used with disadvantaged children. The study investigated whether these materials provided for the formation of the fundamental concepts of mathematics and arithmetic. The project followed the progress of children in the experimental classes throughout the school year and compared it to that of children not in an experimental class.

At the beginning of the project, the kindergarten class consisted of forty-eight children and the first grade class of thirty-eight children. The program was observed once a week by a mathematical consultant and a coordinator, and, at intervals, by a psychologist. Lesson plans were formulated from the S.M.S.G. Teachers' Commentaries.[2] The classroom teacher made weekly logs of the children's success and failure. There were four group meetings in which personnel from all six school areas met with the S.M.S.G. staff to exchange ideas, problems, teaching techniques, and experiences encountered working in the project study.

One of the objectives of the S.M.S.G. program is the development of

[1] The children in the area of Dumas Elementary School come from varied backgrounds and family situations. Some are from lower-middle income families with both parents employed. The area houses a small percentage of home owners and concerned persons. But the majority of the children come from lower income bracket homes whose parents receive Aid to Dependent Children or public welfare. These children live in inadequate housing, broken homes (father may be unknown), and with many siblings. Illiteracy and juvenile delinquency also exist.

The ability ranges varied from very low to high with the majority grouped in the low average.

[2] School Mathematics Study Group, *Mathematics for the Elementary School*, Book K and Book 1 (Part 1 and Part 2) *Teachers Commentaries* (revised editions). *Students' Text*, Book 1 (Part 1 and Part 2) (revised editions) Leland Stanford Junior University, 1963, 1964.

mathematical ideas based upon appropriate experiences with sets of physical objects. Sets are observed, described, and manipulated. Sets of objects are compared with each other and ordered. They are also removed and joined to other sets of objects. Oral descriptions accompany all such manipulation. Geometric ideas are developed in relation to sets of points. Familiar geometric figures—rectangles, squares, triangles, circles—are interpreted as particular sets of points. Whole numbers are used to describe specific points on a line, leading to the "number line," and to describe points in a plane.

Readiness for mathematical concepts depends on the security felt by the children in a school situation and the length of their attention span. When ready, the children are eager. They quickly add new words to their vocabulary. In every possible situation, this new vocabulary is used in a meaningful and natural way.

The terms *set* and *member of a set* are among the first concepts to be developed. They may be introduced during the "Show and Tell Time" with objects brought by the children for sharing. "Mary has a set of books." "Steven has a set of soldiers." "Let us name the members of Michael's set (a marble, a soldier, a penny, etc.)." The development of sets and members of sets can be continued at storytime. "Let's dramatize the story of the Three Bears." "Bring a set of bowls, a set of chairs, etc." Manipulation of the wooden story set, "The Three Bears" and "The Three Billy Goats Gruff" by the Judy Company proved an excellent device for reinforcing the concepts of sets and members of a set.

The children enjoyed discovering the concept of the empty set. With a helper, the teacher placed objects in the pockets of three children. After telling the children that they were going to play a surprise game, the three children were called up to show what was in their pockets. The set in each child's pocket was described. A child was then asked to empty the teacher's pocket, which was, in fact, already empty. The term *empty set* was established and related to the number zero. The children's imaginations ran wild describing the number of empty sets in the classroom—the set of green elephants with long, long trunks or the set of lions.

The children also enjoyed working with geometric figures. They learned to recognize circles, rectangles, triangles, and squares by handling and feeling the roundness, the straight lines, and the points. These geometric figures were made from many different materials, such as wood, felt, paper, cardboard, metal, and rubber, and were used in games, art work, and free play activities.

One game the children particularly enjoyed was the *scavenger hunt*. Several children were given a limited time to find as many examples as possible of a given shape such as a triangle. These shapes had been placed on view in the room. The sets found were compared by matching one to one. The one with the most objects was the winner. Thus in this game several concepts were used: recognition of the shape, comparison by length, and matching with a one to one correspondence.

Many varied and interesting art designs and pictures were formed from geometric figures. These pictures and designs were made with paper and paste, on the flannel board, on the magnetic board, and with building blocks. From these puzzles were created and other visual perception games developed.

Some of the most difficult concepts for children to develop were those encountered in comparing sets. Although they made this comparison daily at home and at school, the terms "as many as" and "fewer than" were not in their vocabulary. There was a need for many, many planned experiences to develop these concepts, among them passing material, lining up at recess and dismissal, using toys, turns at the easel, and roll call. The flannel board and magnetic board were excellent for small and large group activities.

Many other activities were used to develop comparison of sets. The children enjoyed manipulation of toys in pairs, comparing each with another, and comparing the pairs orally. Comparing imagined sets also proved fun. Games and dances requiring sets with the same number of members in each set acted as a means of evaluation of the children's ability to compare. The understanding of sets is necessary if children are to develop a meaningful concept of numbers.

In the first grade there was a refinement and extension of materials that were presented at the kindergarten level program of the School Mathematics Study Group. With the presentation of each concept, the children conversed in an informal grouping at the front of the room. Next they manipulated concrete devices at their desks. The teachers then worked in the student's text. Where there were difficulties, worksheets were provided.

One of the projects was arranging sets in order. The teacher made use of a flannel board and flannel board objects. (A magnetic board can be substituted.) Five sets of flannel board materials (sets with one to five members) were placed on the board in random order. The dialogue between the teacher and the students was in the form of questions by the teacher. The children were questioned: "Which set has the fewest members; does this set have more members than that one; does this set have fewer members than that?" (Pieces of yarn were used in pairing the sets.) Practice in ordering sets could also be accomplished by using a peg board.

Care was taken to relate written numerals to sets. In working with the concept of three, the teacher made three straight lines on the chalkboard. Various children selected objects in the room to match with the blackboard marks, and the numeral three was identified with the sets of objects. This procedure was used for numerals 0 through 9. (The empty set was represented by marks on the chalkboard; this concept seemed easy for the children to recognize because of their previous experiences.) One of the variations used to emphasize this idea was to have the children use counters at their seats to correspond with the marks on the blackboard. Further extension of these procedures could be implemented by the use of seatwork, or, as in this case, by use of the workbook pages in the *Students' Text*. It was also helpful

to keep a display of the numerals 0 through 9 with objects under each to show how many items are necessary to make up the correct set. The written words for the numerals 0 through 9 were introduced at this time so as to teach the pupils to recognize the words. (This depends on the ability of the students.) Peg board displays could be used to relate sets and numerals.

The *number line was also introduced.* In order to introduce it, the teacher made a set of numeral cards 0 through 9. Each numeral was made on a piece of construction paper cut in the shape of a triangle. The sizes of the triangles were uniform. The children were then told, "We will take jumps and count the jumps." The teacher put a chalk mark for the starting point on the floor. A student we shall call Mary stood on the chalk point and was asked, "How many jumps have you taken?" "None," she answered. "What numeral tells how many jumps you have taken?" She pointed to 0. Another child got the triangle shape *with the numeral 0* and placed it on the floor with the point towards the feet of Mary. Mary was told *to take one jump* and stop, and then was asked, "How many jumps have you taken from the starting point?" Now she answered "One." A classmate then got the numeral card with 1 on it and placed it with the point towards Mary's feet. This action was continued until Mary had made nine jumps. The teacher then emphasized that the numeral card told how many jumps Mary had taken from the starting point. The teacher was also careful to stress that the jumps would not have had to stop with nine if we had had more cards.

Further emphasis on the number line idea was made by pretending that jumps were taken on the chalkboard. Dots indicated the starting point and the nine jumps. The children helped to supply the numbers for the chalkboard number line and talked about the relationship between the in-equality of numbers and the order of numbers on the number line. Is four less than five, for example, and on which side of five is the three in the picture? *The number line concept was further expanded* by taking a string and having a child hold each end. Teachers and children pretended the string was a *rope for a tightrope walker* and then took a card with a zero on it and clipped it to the string. One child stood by the zero card and was told to take one step and stop. After each step the numeral cards were clipped to the string by the students who then talked about numbers: a number greater than three; a number less than two; a number less than one; a number greater than four; and all the numbers zero through nine. The teacher then mounted a printed number line on the chalkboard and continued the con-versation about numbers greater than and less than another number.

The presentation of *addition was in the form of joining sets.* The students identified a grouping of buttons or blocks as two sets and joined the button set with the block set. The simple explanation was that we had joined one set with another set. At this point it was important to make it clear that when one set was joined *with another set a new set was made and that the members of both sets are members of the new set.* The conversation was then slanted in this manner. "Is this button a member of the button

set?" The answer was yes. "Is this block a member of the block set?" Still
yes. This procedure was followed by the use of a variety of materials to
create sets, such as flannel board materials, books, papers, stick counters,
and beans. At their desks the children had individual additional practice in
joining sets with concrete materials, with each child joining sets and creating
a new set.

The next procedure was to introduce the joining of sets in association
with the spoken names of the number zero through nine. The teacher placed
a set of objects on the flannel board, and the children described the set, for
example, a set of pears, a set of yellow pears, a set of three pears. This set
was put to the side on the flannel board. On the other side of the board an-
other set was placed, a set of two apples, and this second set was identified.
The teacher then told the children: "We have a set of three pears and a
set of two apples. Let us put the apples with pears. What have we done with
the two sets? We have joined the set of apples with the pear set. We had a
set of three pears and a set of two apples. We have joined two sets and made
a new set. How many members do we have in the new set?" They answered
five. The teacher gave the pupils further practice in joining sets. Then cards
with numbers written on them were used to identify the sets numerically.
Under the teacher's direction the children had many experiences in
joining sets at the flannel board.

To help the children with an understanding of addition, the teacher
made three boxes on the board. One of the children was asked to bring a
set of four books to the teacher, and the four were recorded in the first box.
Another child was asked to bring one book to the teacher, and this too
was recorded in the second box. A child was asked to join the four sets with
the one set and to tell how many books there were in the new set. There
was much additional practice in completing the boxlike charts.

The next chart to be completed had four boxes, of which the fourth box
was to record the additional equation and included a discussion and explana-
tion of the plus and equal signs. The children were told that the symbols to
the left of the equal sign and the symbols to the right of the equal sign are
names for the same thing. The teacher then created simple word addition
problems using the names of the members of the class. The pupils gave the
answers orally.

Subtraction was introduced through the idea of a subset of a set. The
teacher told the girls in her classroom to stand. The students were questioned
as to whether individual girls were members of the set of girls. They an-
swered yes. "Is this girl a member of the boy set?" they were asked and
would answer no. Then the boys were asked to stand, and the same pro-
cedure was followed. Then the class was asked to stand. It was decided that
the girl set was a subset of the class set. This process was repeated many
times with various things. The teacher was careful to identify the set first
before talking about a subset of the given set. There was also practice with
the magnetic board and concrete manipulation of materials. As with addi-

tion, there were opportunities for the students to practice subtraction with simple word problems.

In the next step of teaching subtraction, the teacher used magnetic board objects. The teacher made a chart of three boxes. The children then moved the subset from the set. The set number was recorded; the set removed was recorded; and the remaining set was recorded. The chart then progressed to four boxes with the subtraction equation written in the fourth box, using the minus and equal symbols. There were many opportunities for problem-solving with both addition and subtraction in the *Students' Text* and worksheets.

One of the excellent features of S.M.S.G. material was the availability of three *Teachers' Commentaries* and the accompanying *Students' Text*. The first grade material discussed above is included in the first *Teachers' Commentary*, Book I, Part I. Book I, Part 2 also contains a section introducing sets of ten members each, which is needed for the study of place value. Included in this section is an introduction to the relative value of money; for example, ten cents is ten ones or one ten. In this classroom the children seemed to have already established a knowledge of the monetary value of coins.

The modern mathematics program was followed on a limited basis the second year. The first grade teacher received the kindergarten children who had participated in the program. The first grade class was followed most of their second year. At the present time the S.M.S.G. mathematics consultants visit once a week in the kindergarten and first grade, working with the children in the development of their mathematical understanding.

At the conclusion of the year's pilot study, a report was compiled giving the results from participating schools as compared with those from non-experimental classes. The report gave favorable results.[3] We believe that the pilot program was very successful. The vocabulary of mathematics became a natural part of the children's spoken language, and many of the concepts were applied to other areas of the curriculum. We think that this program could be used in most teaching situations. The success of the program is dependent upon the availability and use of concrete materials for manipulation and upon the resourcefulness of the teacher.

✿ The Hidden Potential of Low Achievers

HERBERT FREMONT AND NEAL EHRENBERG

A ninth-grade class is considering a topic in algebra. Tables of information on the blackboard seem to refer to the results of some experiment in science (Figure 1).

The teacher explains that W represents a number of ounces of weight hung from a spring and that L represents the resulting length of the spring in inches. He asks his students to look carefully at the table to try to find a relationship between the W and the L values. A few quiet moments pass, and student arms are being flung into the air until almost everyone in the room is desperately trying to attract the teacher's attention. ("Have you found a formula that would fit the information of this table?")

W	1	3	5	7
L	1	7	13	19

Fig. 1.

After an additional minute or two, to be sure each student has had an opportunity to consider the problem, the teacher calls upon a young man who replies with, "$L = 3W - 2$." The sounds and bobbing heads of the other students seem to indicate that there is general agreement. ("Did you have the same answer?") The teacher writes this formula on the blackboard and says, "How can we check to see if the formula is a good description of the relationship between L and W?" After verifying that the formula does indeed "work" by trying some values, the teacher then asks the student who provided the formula how he managed to get it so quickly.

		2	2	2	
W	1	3	5	7	
L	1	7	13	19	
		6	6	6	

W	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
L	-2	1	4	7	10	13	16	19

Fig. 2.

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The student comes to the board, writes and explains (Figure 2): "You've got to find the zero. That will give the number at the end of the formula, if there is one. Now a difference in *W* of 2 gives a 6 change in *L*, so there must be a change of 3 in *L* for each ounce of weight. If we go down 3 from 1 we get −2. So when *W* = 0, *L* = −2. This tells us that the formula will look like this:

$$L = \square \times W - 2.$$

Since the change in L is three times that of W, the whole formula is

$$L = 3W - 2."$$

Other methods are explored and the teacher moves on to examine the prediction of results with the students: "If the length of the spring was 25 inches, how much weight was hung from it?"

The students proceed to work along these lines:

$$L = 3W - 2.$$

If

$$L = 25,$$

then

$$25 = 3W - 2.$$

If you take away 2 from a number and get 25, then the number must be 27, so

$$3W = 27.$$

If you multiply 3 by 9 you get 27, therefore,

$$W = 9.$$

The answer is 9 ounces of weight.

Several examples like this one follow, and the students draw a graph of this function.

How is it, then, that students with chronic problems in mathematics had been able to demonstrate mathematical thinking at a rather sophisticated level, and in the finest sense of thinking mathematically?

Let us be clear about the ideas generated by the simple incident related here. There are two levels of abstraction and pattern recognition involved:

1. The students were able to examine two related columns of numbers, determine the existing pattern, and describe the relationships in terms of algebraic symbols—a formula.

2. In addition, they went a step further and generalized a method of attack to be used on all such collections of data (at this point limited to linear cases).

This is no small achievement. It is one that would make any elementary algebra teacher proud of his students. How is it then that students in a general mathematics class, students with a history of years of failure in mathematics, became able to deal with mathematical abstraction in such a manner?

Let us back up a bit!

Because of the widespread concern about the ninth-year course in general mathematics as a continual source of trouble for students who are tired of the same old content and failures, teachers who are reluctant to teach such classes, and administrators who must assign these teachers, some experimenters decided to see if something couldn't be done to improve an undesirable situation.

In order to break up—somehow—the pattern of failure built up over the years, and also to fulfill the promise (hope?) that another year of arithmetic would help get the students ready for algebra, a general mathematics exploratory study was initiated.

The work was undertaken at a junior high school in New York City that is virtually a Queens College campus school, as well as a regular junior high school in the New York City system. The authors met weekly, made plans, discussed problems, organized materials, and tried out ideas. All of this work was based upon the notion that the focal point would be the use of the language of algebra to describe relationships in the world in which we live: the study of functions, although the students never heard this word. Whenever possible, actual physical experiments were arranged, to be carried out by the students so that they would have the opportunity to gather the data themselves.

We began with W. W. Sawyer's "platform and rollers." Some detail may clarify the procedures. The teacher had begun the year's work in the usual manner: reviewing and emphasizing basic computation. A visitor to his class would have observed the behavior patterns familiar to teachers of general mathematics. After a few weeks, the platform and rollers (see Figure 3) were brought in. A discussion of simple machines was followed by an explanation that another machine was available, and the students were asked

Starting Position

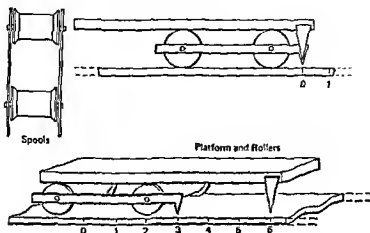Spools

Platform and Rollers

Fig. 3.

to see if they could figure out how it worked. The students did the experiment, that is, they moved the platform and rollers, and recorded the results. Everyone in the class kept his own record in his notebook. When the experiment was completed and the data were recorded in table form, it appeared like this:

When rollers move	the platform moves
0	0
1	2
2	4
3	6

A new group of students was chosen and the experiment was repeated, to be sure that the results were the product of the simple machine and not the children doing the experiment. When the data were verified, the teacher asked the children to look for a relationship between the distances traveled by the platform and by the rollers. After some thought, the students agreed that the relationship was described by the sentence

The platform moves twice as far as the rollers.

Elimination of the unnecessary words resulted in

Platform moves twice ... rollers.

The teacher had hoped to bring the children to the point where they would see that the final shortest form of the sentence is

$$P = 2R.$$

but things do not always work out as planned. For some reason, the students had a most difficult time moving from words to algebraic symbols. This roadblock was overcome by the teacher's presentation of the formula to the class himself, without belaboring the idea. A picture of the relationship, a graph, was then made. Remembering the work done in the earlier grades with line graphs, the students were able to carry out the graphing process with little difficulty. Thus, a function derived from an experiment was described in four ways:

a table	a sentence
a formula	a graph

An attempt to predict results followed. How far would the platform move if the rollers moved 5 units? 6 units? After checking the answers with the apparatus, other predictions and checks were carried out. This was a beginning of the work with the linear function of the form $y = ax$.

In like manner, other situations were introduced:

a spring stretch	$s = 3w$
a ball drop	$v = 32t$
a fixed-length rectangle	$A = 4w$

Whenever possible the experiment was actually carried out by the students. If this was not possible, pictures of the experiment were presented to the students and they were asked to do measuring in order to gather data. After many such experiences (including an experiment with pulleys, prepared by the science department), the students were given collections of data in table form without experimentation. We moved from the real and physical experience, to pictures and diagrams (Figure 4), and then to abstract collections of data. In each situation, the students described the functions in four ways as described earlier, and then became involved in predictive work. The process of prediction provided the motivation for the solution of simple linear equations of the form

$$y = ax.$$

First, given x-values, find y; and then, given y-values, find x.

It is important to note that formal solutions and methods were not introduced at any time. It is rather surprising to see the variety and ingenuity of student thinking when no structure for the thinking is provided by the teacher. These so-called mathematically crippled students not only were able to compute the needed answers, but they also quickly developed the ability to write their own formulas from the given data despite their initial difficulties, and with no apparent additional instruction in how to do this by the teacher! With continued experience this ability simply appeared.

The variety of situations involving these simple linear functions and equations resulted in repetitive mathematical experiences in such different settings that the students were unaware of the "drill" nature of the work.

Thus the needed repetition for the fixing of ideas was present in what may be optimal learning form: the same mathematics idea in different environments.

The next step in the development of algebraic ideas was to extend the experiences to include the functions of form:

$$y = ax + b.$$

The example presented initially, involving the length of springs as weights were hung upon them, was typical of these situations.

The experiences described point up many important notions. The same students who were able to generalize patterns in a given set of data and patterns for dealing with broad collections of data still could not cope with examples involving fundamental processes. Surprising as it may seem, the time may be upon us to recognize, accept, and act upon the notion that skill in carrying out fundamental operations and ability in mathematics may not be one *and the same!* (Despite some protests to the contrary, don't we usually glorify the ability to remember over the ability to think?) The work with these general mathematics students seems to indicate a fallacy in this identification of skill with ability, and to show that standardized tests, as they are now constructed, fail to measure aptitude for mathematics.

What are the implications for our profession generally and for us, specifically, as teachers? First and foremost, there may well be a tremendous reserve of children with natural ability in mathematics that has apparently not been tapped. For whatever the reason, it seems that early failures in computation have had the effect of stunting the growth in mathematics of many students, never permitting their true ability to be realized. It would seem that, under proper conditions, mathematical thinking is natural to most of our students. It is, perhaps, the forcing of unnatural patterns of thought upon our students that has resulted in their eventual loss to us and to mathematics.

So, for a beginning, why not try to approach all of your students as if they can learn? Our students are extremely adept at tuning in on our expectations for them. If you work with them in a way that makes it explicit to them in everything that happens that you are convinced that they can learn, they may well surprise you and do just that.

Secondly, try not to repeat the mistakes of the past—particularly that famous principle of learning that proclaims that if you simply have the fortitude to repeat things often enough and slowly enough, your students will eventually learn. This is a most unfortunate half-truth. Repetition is necessary, yes, but not simply a restatement of that which was just done. This merely results in repeated failure, confirming the student's feeling of inability in mathematics. What is needed is a repetition of mathematical ideas in a variety of settings, as indicated in the algebra work described earlier. There is one thing we must never forget: we are speaking of slow *learners*, not *slow* learners.
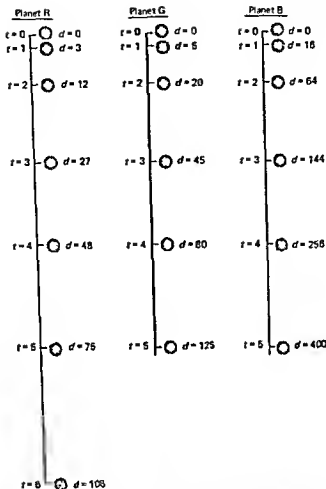
Fig. 4.   The circles show how an object would look as it falls toward the surface of each planet. (The student is asked to find the pattern that seems to appear, and to try to predict how far the object will fall in 10 seconds.)

Thirdly, the time has come for us to free our students to think as best they can. The shortest, most efficient way to get where we are going mathematically is generally considered to be the most elegant way. But in helping a student, we must encourage him to find his own way, the way that is best suited to him. If we block the student in this and try to do the thinking for him, we are hurting rather than helping him. We see the results of too much direction in the way students can work with examples but are lost when presented with verbal problems.

This was demonstrated earlier when we discussed the way in which the general mathematics students carried out the solution of equations. The students did not use the equality axioms. They did not balance equations,

❋ Math for the Low, Slow, and Fidgety

JANE C. STENZEL

One characteristic that distinguishes American teachers from many of our counterparts abroad is our attitude that children should enjoy learning, and that it is our obligation to help them to enjoy it. Furthermore, we feel that it is our duty to teach all children; that if the child does not learn, it is less his fault than ours.

Thus it is that we are perturbed—and at the same time human enough to rationalize our failure—when we find that a large percentage of our pupils either do not like mathematics or do not understand mathematics; so we call them "low achievers" or "slow learners" or even "the mathematically less gifted."

Take any grade at an ordinary junior high school, and what do you find? If there are 250 pupils in the grade, 25 will be wonderful math students. Another 25 will delight their teacher by learning a little more than might reasonably be expected of them. Between 100 and 112 will be good average students. (Let's be honest: call them mediocre.) And then there are the 100 or more in the low-average, below-average, and—alas!—remedial classes.

What have we done for them? We've talked. We've made surveys. We've tried lots of experiments.

We say, "We must start where the student is, even if it's third-grade level." So we spoon-feed him the same tasteless stuff he's rejected for years, and if we're lucky the student is able to do fourth-grade arithmetic next year in eighth grade. But he still doesn't like it, and he still doesn't know much mathematics.

Or we say, "We must give him many manipulative materials, many field trips, many games." The student thinks math class is a lot of fun, but he may or may not have progressed beyond fourth-grade arithmetic at the end of a year's experiences.

If we're old-fashioned enough to say, "The trouble with these kids is that they have never really *learned* anything. They've been allowed to let it slide past them. This year every kid in the class is going to learn to add, subtract, multiply, and divide, even if he doesn't learn anything else." So the student doesn't learn anything else and on the final he writes:

get another piece of paper. And he needs variety. He may have *had* fractions in fourth grade, but it didn't "take." He needs rational numbers now, from a new angle. If you try to "start all over again and make sure he learns it this time," he'll tune you out before you get to $\frac{1}{2} = \frac{2}{4}$.

Sometimes the "mathematically less gifted" really has a language problem. Perhaps he hears English only in school and has been ashamed to tell his teachers—and his peers—that he doesn't understand the explanations. This child really suffers because of a fault most teachers have: We talk too much! We forget that math can be taught in its own language instead of in words. For the non-English-speaking student you can do more with your eyebrows than you can with your tongue, and you'll get farther with pebbles, sticks, and a piece of chalk than with a textbook full of explanatory material.

This is true, also, for the student whose real problem is reading, not math. What seventh grader is going to confess that he can't read the directions for solving problems or writing answers, much less understand the problem with all its beautifully grammatical "of whiches"? He'll be able to drive a car all over Europe because road signs are in pictures, numerals, and symbols. He can solve problems when you speak them. He needs to learn to read, too, of course, but he needs math material with which he can succeed without reading.

Somewhere in the low-achiever group we must make allowance for the wise guy, the one who says, "Why should I cram all that stuff in my head when everything is done by machine nowadays? These teachers are making us do all this work for nothing. When I grow up I won't need it. I'll have machines to do it for me." What he hasn't learned is that machines can add, subtract, multiply, and divide, but people have to tell them which to do. He's heard of programming, but he doesn't think it has anything to do with him.

Yes, we all know many of the causes for low achievement, but we haven't been able to prevent it or—in most cases—cure it.

Last year I had an opportunity to try a combination of treatments; perhaps I could at least alleviate some of the symptoms and aim a blow at the basic causes of the malady. I have no idea as yet about the long-term success of my program, but certainly for the last weeks of school I had a good time, the students came eagerly to school, and they learned more, quite cheerfully, in eight weeks than I had been able to cram into their resistant skulls in the preceding twenty-seven.

Here's what happened: After going to math meetings on state and local levels and after sending for every bit of material I could find for low achievers, I asked my school district to buy some calculating machines for my classes.

"We'd love to," they said, "but there's no money now. Make out this

application for NDEA funds, and perhaps we can get your machines next year."

That "perhaps" bothered me, and "next year" wouldn't help my eighth graders who were moving up to high school in June.

There's a wonderful column in our local newspaper, called "Action Line." At the top of the column a paragraph explains, " 'Action Line' is a . . . reader service designed to solve problems, answer questions, and cut red tape."

I've never been bashful about scrounging materials for children, so— after checking with the superintendent—I wrote:

Is there any place where I can get discarded but still usable adding machines, cash registers, scales, calipers, or other devices to use in my seventh- and eighth-grade math classes? Many students who don't like math would find it more interesting and meaningful if they could have experience with this sort of equipment.

Within a few days my classroom was equipped with six Victor Comptometer electric adding-subtracting machines, two large computing scales of the grocery store type, a postal scale, a Harvard trip balance, and a linear scale which weighs in both ounces and grams; there were several metal measuring tapes of various lengths; there was an old full-keyboard adding machine for manual use. The last was donated, as were the tapes. Everything else was loaned by firms in the area.

I sat up half the night for weeks writing material to exploit my new equipment, and it was worth it.

In three classes—two seventh-grade, one eighth-grade—the youngsters who had dragged themselves drearily into the math session just before the bell rang now came dashing in as soon as the door was opened. They weighed everything they could lift. They measured the classroom, their desks, and their reach. They slaved over the calculators to work problems they would formerly have given up in two minutes. They corrected mistakes and corrected their mistaken corrections. They said, "This is a blast! This is boss! And you know what? We're really learning something!" They bawled out their classmates for "goofing off" if I had to delay the action to get someone settled down.

They behaved better throughout the school. They were the envy of all the other students, who didn't want to school whenever they were able, because they didn't want to miss much math. For the twenty-seven eighth graders there had been eighty-seven office referrals (from all teachers) in the six-week period just before we got the gadgetry. In the first six weeks we had ten machines, the same class had fifty-three referrals—surely a significant improvement in behavior.

Parents came to me full of enthusiasm: "My son always hated math before. Now it's his favorite subject."

color intermingled in a cloth that otherwise might appear to be the same drab color.

There are fourteen or more student pages for every unit, and I hope teachers will find it hard to get around to every page and every suggestion in the teacher edition; if they do, it will mean that there is plenty of work in the text. But I hope most of the extras will be used, even if it appears that some ideas have not been taught thoroughly. One problem with the low achiever is that he won't hold still for thorough teaching. You have to catch him over and over again, adding a little more learning every time.

The "basics" are pretty well taken care of in eight so-called assignment pages for each unit. These are the minimum requirements, the ones absentees must make up and learn.

The other pages, however, are just as important to teaching the low achiever. I am trying to put in something for everyone's taste. Sometimes a student will come alive when he finds that probability is a branch of mathematics. Geometry or topology or algebra may make it possible for a student to shine who never even glowed before.

There will be no homework assignments unless a student has been absent. It is hoped that students will leave the classroom with their work in their heads and not in their hands. They are less likely to lose it on the way home from school.

There will be shoebox kits for individual work—games, projects, gadgets. Students will be encouraged to move around, to work together, to use the chalkboard instead of scratch paper.

There will be realistic deadlines by which all assignments required in a unit must be completed. The low achiever needs to feel that he is expected to meet goals just as his other classmates do.

Will it work? Experiments with some of these ideas indicate that success is more likely in this kind of program than in either traditional or "modern" programs, which suit the above-average or the average student. We don't want to give the low achiever a less-than-adequate background in mathematics. We don't want to give him busy work just to keep him out of trouble. We do want to find a program that will fit *him*, instead of fitting him to the program, and if the pattern looks unusual we'll use it anyway. If we have to teach in ways we've never taught before, live in a classroom that doesn't seem to be "school" at all, and adapt ourselves to the students, we'll do it. If it works, the students will enjoy it, and that is the way we want them to learn.

❋ What's New in Teaching Slow Learners in Junior High School?

SARAH GREENHOLZ

Introduction

What is new in teaching slow learners in junior high school? They have received little attention and almost no funds in the evolution which is occurring in mathematics. Now, however, there is a dramatic turn in attention to the pupils at the other end of the academic achievement scale. There are several reasons for this:

1. Ability grouping causes these pupils to stand out in sharp profile in our schools.
2. Automation has absorbed many of the unskilled jobs which formerly were available to drop-outs. Youngsters who were drop-outs are staying in school.
3. These pupils are asking for opportunities in mathematics beyond the ninth grade.
4. Programs for retraining our adults to enable them to enter employment again involve teaching arithmetic. Some of these adults learn slowly, too.
5. Just as *Sputnik* gave great impetus to training for the capable, so President Johnson gave publicity to teaching the nonachiever when he declared his war on poverty. Much of the money voted for the fight against poverty will be focused on the education of these people.

Mathematics educators had really started in this direction before President Johnson announced his goal. The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics had budgeted $40,000 for a writing project for ninth-grade general mathematics two years ago. During the summer of 1963 a text called *Experiences in Mathematical Discovery* was written by a writing team under the direction of Oscar Schaaf. It is a book designed for pupils with mathematical achievement of 25th to 50th percentile. At present the text is being tried in various schools throughout the United States, but it is not yet for sale. This book is currently being revised, and it will be available to all schools for the year 1965–66.

Another indication that the slower pupils are receiving attention is that NCTM has formed a committee on mathematics for the noncollege-bound. A conference was held by the U.S. Office of Education and NCTM in March, 1964, on the Low Achiever in Mathematics. The preliminary report on this conference is available from the U.S. Office of Education. SMSG

also held a planning conference in April to consider writing for the low achiever.

More textbooks are available now than in the past for slower classes, because the market for these is becoming a more profitable one.

Definition

To what kinds of children are we referring? The NCTM writing group defines the low achiever as the child ranking below the 30th percentile of the student population *in achievement in mathematics.* This is the kind of pupil who will be discussed here.

Problems

There are a number of problems about nonachievers over which teachers have no control. We will mention some of them briefly, but it would seem more profitable to spend time on the learning which takes place in the classroom and the attitudes built there. We would all like to see smaller classes. We all wish that the chronic absentees, the discipline problems, the poor readers, the transients, and the indifferent weren't dumped on us. We all wish that pupils would come to us with a series of experiences which would make them ready for the mathematics we have to offer them. We wish the classes were more homogeneous; instead, they usually contain a wide range of achievement. We wish that the ratio of boys to girls were one to one, but usually the boys predominate in such classes possibly because their maturity rate is slower than that of girls, and the boys do not adapt themselves to sitting in classrooms as easily as girls.

Most of these pupils have failed, and failure hasn't made good students of them. How do we mark these pupils? One of our teachers in the modified program states his philosophy of marking this way: "Give the child the mark that is best for him. If he tries, pass him. How do you motivate him and justify his passing in the eyes of the rest of the class? Since we are not born with equal talents, it is not fair to set a cutoff point on a test and let this determine who passes. *Give him credit for daily work turned in, or recitation in class, on a notebook, or on problems assigned for extra credit. If he can't do fractions, grade him on whole numbers.*" This teacher is successful in motivating his low achievers without giving many low marks.

Most schools mark the level of mathematics on the report card. Parents accept this now more than they did in the past, but it is never easy for them to face the fact that their child is achieving less well than other children.

General Techniques

In spite of the heavy load, there are many teachers who teach less able learners with great skill and derive true satisfaction from seeing these pupils develop number literacy. What are their techniques?

Let us consider some general classroom techniques which have proved successful!

1. Pupils find it difficult to remember directions or materials from one day to the next. To keep the learning process in motion have scratch paper and pencil chips handy. You may wish to keep your texts in your room and not permit them to be taken home.

2. Provide opportunity for the class to learn through several senses at a time, such as seeing, hearing, manipulating, dramatizing, and doing. An excellent classroom lesson was one where the teacher asked a shorter student to come and stand beside him. He asked the class to compare their sizes. From these answers he led into a lesson on ratio. He was dramatizing the lesson.

3. Frequent changes of activity are necessary because slow learners have a short span of interest. Provide variety within a period: warmup or oral practice, readiness, discussion or laboratory experience to discover the new concept, board work or group practice, games, and supervised study.

4. Have daily routine, with surprises. These children are not so bored with the same routine as we are, and routine gives them a feeling of security. What do we mean by surprises? A surprise could be a puzzle, a student invited from another class to give a report, a film or film strip, a field trip on the school campus, a bulletin-board display of pupils' work, or a sharing of work via an opaque projector.

5. Never put a child on the spot for an answer if he is dull. Mental arithmetic is hard for him, so avoid this. Board work sometimes embarrasses certain individuals, so let it be optional.

6. Give these pupils immediate satisfaction by checking their work as they do it. Do not return a test several days later. Have short tests over a concept just learned. Circle an error but do not mark the whole problem wrong.

7. Make each daily lesson complete in itself. There will be relationship of ideas from day to day, but do not carry work over from one day to the next. This makes it possible for absentees or new pupils to participate in the learning, even though they have been out the day before. Few of these pupils can work on their own, so provide supervised study within your class period. Assign homework sparingly or for extra credit, but do not require it. Remember that the sense of values of such a pupil is entirely different from yours. He lives from day to day and seldom sees the importance of education or of long-term goals.

8. Never penalize a slow child by forcing him to work longer at mathematics than his brighter peers. Never punish a child for a misdemeanor by giving him computation to do.

9. Always prepare pupils for verbal problems. One or two thought problems each day are more effective than a long list at one time, and the result is better classroom control and less frustration on the part of the pupil. Have the pupils read the problem silently before it is read orally.

There are several new techniques in teaching today: team teaching, television teaching, and programmed instruction. Let us see how each of these works with slow learners.

In team teaching, if each member of the team is conscientious, slower pupils can receive more individual attention and profit from this kind of instruction.

In television teaching, the slower pupil gives up at the point where he does not understand. He stops participating for the rest of the telecast. If the pupil is confronted with a live teacher, the teacher can go back and reteach at the place where he finds that the pupil is confused.

In programmed instruction, the pupil must be able to read. Slow pupils are usually deficient in reading skills. Moreover, the printed page is usually not enough to motivate the slow learner. A teacher can usually do this better than a printed page.

Techniques in Mathematics

Let us turn to samples of techniques which have proved successful with slower pupils. Perhaps you will find something that will work in your classroom tomorrow.

1. Use of number line for teaching equivalent fractions, comparing decimals, rounding numbers (round 287 to the nearest hundred
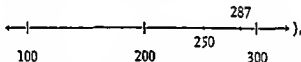
understanding signed numbers, graphing solution sets and inequalities.
2. Vocabulary words on cards with the root of the word emphasized: *Ratio*, *Perimeter*
3. Greenwood method of division:

4. Circling factors equivalent to one in simplifying fractions:

$$\frac{15}{25} = \frac{3 \times 5}{5 \times 5} = \frac{3}{5}$$

5. In regrouping, use crutches. Rewrite the number completely:

$$
\begin{array}{r}
7\ 16 \\
2\ 8\ 6 \\
-\ 4\ 9 \\
\end{array}
$$

$$
\begin{array}{r}
286 \\
-49 \\
\end{array}
$$

6. Making a ruler calibrated in inches by folding a 12" strip of paper:

$$\frac{1}{2} \text{ of } 12 = 6 \qquad \frac{1}{4} \text{ of } 12 = 3$$

$$\frac{1}{3} \text{ of } 12 = 4 \qquad \frac{1}{6} \text{ of } 12 = 2$$

7. Discovery lesson on positions in which

2 sticks can fall:

3 sticks:

8. Folding a strip of newspaper to represent 50%, 25%, 12½%, 33⅓%, 16⅔%, of the whole. Show placement of common fractions and percent equivalents on a number line. Adolescents are so afraid that making a concrete model will make them appear childish that sometimes a project like this will not work. Much depends upon how the teacher introduces the concrete aid.

9. Avoid shortcuts with pupils if they cannot remember them:

Not this

$$
\begin{array}{r}
68 \\
\times 20 \\
\hline
1360 \\
\end{array}
$$

This

$$
\begin{array}{r}
68 \\
\times 20 \\
\hline
00 \\
136\ \\
\hline
1360 \\
\end{array}
$$

Not this

$$6.7 \div 10 = .67$$

This

$$
\begin{array}{r}
.67 \\
10\overline{)6.70} \\
6\ 0\ \\
\hline
70 \\
70 \\
\hline
\end{array}
$$

10. List multiples to find the least common denominator:

⅖	5	10	15		
⅓	3	6	9	12	15

Content

Let us turn now to another question. What content should be included for the pupils?

Around the nation, generally, slower pupils do better in computing than

in problem solving. This tells you what is going on in classrooms. A teacher who leans too heavily on computation is denying these youngsters part of a general cultural background which should be part of everyone's heritage. Each child should be exposed to some of the structure of mathematics and be taught to apply mathematics by practicing on some of the models he finds around him, in addition to learning how to compute.

The pupils should be taught the relationships in number which dictate why they compute as they do. The Gestalt theory is as valid now as it ever was, and a bag of tricks is an ineffective way to teach competence in number.

In Cincinnati we are experimenting with a tenth-grade course in mathematics for less-able children. Of the four texts being tried, the ones enjoyed most by these pupils are based on structure. Many of these classes have studied so many applications that, to them, a look into the structure is refreshing.

Another observation is that these pupils enjoy thinking at their level more than imitating a model. Let us illustrate.

Find the simple interest for one year on $500 invested at 4%.

$$\begin{array}{r} \$500 \\ .04 \\ \hline \$20.00 \end{array}$$

What is the interest on $600 at 5% for one year?

This is learning by imitation.

Now two examples of thinking at their level:

1. Ask the class to consider 9 objects. Separate the set into
   A. 2 sets of objects, one larger than the other.
   B. 2 sets, both with an odd number of objects.
   C. 2 sets, both with an even number of objects.
   D. 3 sets alike.
   E. 3 sets different.
   (B and C cannot be done.)

2. Put on the board these patterns. Let the pupil complete and generalize the patterns.

$3, 7 \rightarrow 10$	$7 \rightarrow 9$	$1 \rightarrow 3$
$4, 2 \rightarrow 6$	$0 \rightarrow 2$	$3 \rightarrow 9$
$1, 8 \rightarrow 9$	$8 \rightarrow \underline{\quad}$	$10 \rightarrow 30$
$15, 5 \rightarrow \underline{\quad}$	$\underline{\quad} \rightarrow 6$	$2 \rightarrow \underline{\quad}$
$20, \underline{\quad} \rightarrow 22$	$x \rightarrow \underline{x+2}$	$\underline{\quad} \rightarrow 12$
$\underline{\quad}, 4 \rightarrow 9$		$n \rightarrow \underline{3n}$
$n, m \rightarrow \underline{n+m}$		

Make up some patterns of your own.

Is the material modified or is the same material taught at a slower pace? We must do both. First the material must be modified so that it is less

abstract. This is not watering it down. It is providing a simple approach which makes mathematics more reasonable. We also go more slowly and reinforce what we learn with more drill and examples.

What mathematical content seems essential for each pupil to comprehend?

Certainly every pupils should learn the operations with whole numbers and rational numbers, including percent. He should be numerically literate when he reads newspapers and common magazines and be able to interpret graphs.

He should be taught to keep neat and accurate records and to write checks. He should be taught home and job mathematics and business applications. He can learn simple algebra with emphasis on the use of the formula. He can discover relationships in informal geometry and can do simple geometric constructions.

Every teacher of slow learners must be prepared to help them with their reading. All of these pupils should be encouraged to develop certain attitudes in the classroom such as: (1) industry, (2) courtesy, (3) self-discipline, and (4) respect for the other person.

Increasing Your Competence

What can you do on your own to increase competence at this level?

1. Have a swap session on what has worked in your classrooms.
2. Develop a note book of your own. The teachers in Cincinnati could not find material interesting to adolescents and written for pupils having a low achievement level, so they duplicated lessons which they used successfully with their less-able pupils. They traded these lessons. They tried them, refined them, and bound them together in a curriculum bulletin. This curriculum bulletin is unique because it contains material for direct use in the classroom. Teachers are supplied with classroom sets of these curriculum lessons from our central office. If you wish to purchase this curriculum bulletin, it is listed along with other books which we have found work better with slower pupils than with faster ones.

What kind of person is best suited to teach these children? The teacher must possess certain personality traits. He must be a secure person himself. Insecure teachers sometimes demand only bright children to bolster their own ego. The secure know in his heart that teaching slow learners is the most difficult teaching assignment of all. This teacher must also possess the genuine respect for the dignity of every human being. Acceptance of the importance of the assignment to teach less-able pupils is all important. He must be challenged by growth in children and by finding ways to modify the content for them. Training to teach in the elementary school provides an excellent background for a teacher of slow pupils.

Our teachers of these pupils prefer the departmentalized curriculum rather than a core program. They find that holding a class for several class periods is exhausting to them and to the children, too. They also find it hard to be a specialist in several areas such as science and mathematics, with content growing as rapidly as it is.

Some critics of public schools suggest that our energies should not be directed toward educating these boys and girls. My answer to such critics would be this: In a few years these young people will pay taxes, vote, serve in the military forces, operate automobiles, buy and sell, marry and have more children than an average cross section of our population. We will be supporting some because they cannot find employment. How can we, a nation, afford not to educate every child to be the best citizen his talents and ability permit?

What is new in teaching slower pupils? Most of the techniques enumerated here have been in use for a long time, but perhaps now you have more confidence in your own program.

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✿ A World of Hope—Helping Slow Learners Enjoy Mathematics

AMELIA D. PROCTOR

For the past 25 years I have worked with children, much of that time with slow learners. There is hope for these pupils. It is my belief that we must help the slow learner develop faith in himself. He must have hope for the future and confidence in his ability if he is to experience any degree of success.

The word "enjoy" in the title has a double meaning. It means "to have the use or benefit of" in the sense of "enjoying good health." But it also means "to experience satisfaction in achieving" in the sense of "enjoying victory in a spelling contest." All pupils should have a chance to enjoy mathematics in these two ways.

For approximately 20 years, I taught at Randall Junior High School, which had more than its share of pupils who were below average in the fundamental tools of learning. Concentrated effort to meet the special needs of those pupils began in the 1940's during the principalship of Dr. Gladys T. Peterson. At that time the philosophy of the principal and staff became "We teach them all." Dr. Peterson organized and conducted faculty workshops to survey and analyze the instructional needs of these pupils.

From this beginning, special classes for the severely handicapped slow learners were set up. I was the teacher selected to teach mathematics to those pupils. They were pupils who had been exposed to a sequence of discouraging experiences, pupils who did not believe in their ability to succeed.

An example of the type of pupil for which these classes were organized is illustrated by this story. The members of one class were asked to turn to page 28. One boy, Harvey, opened his book of more than 200 pages near the center and made no attempt to find page 28. When reminded by his teacher that she had said page 28, Harvey said, "But, Mrs. Smith, I don't know how to find it."

My work with these pupils made me feel that they needed new experiences, experiences that would build faith, hope, and confidence that they could—and would—succeed. In my search for such new experiences, I found that I had to develop new materials to encourage the pupils to learn mathematics. In this discussion I shall concentrate on two principal factors: changing—

ing the attitudes of slow learners, and the designing of devices to meet their classroom needs.

Daniel Prescott (*The Child and the Educative Process*) has said, "The first factor in a security-giving relationship is a sincere valuing of the child by the teacher. This means," he points out, "having an inner conviction that the child has good in him, has potentialities that can be realized, and is worth the thought and effort involved in helping him." Of course, this requires some effort by the teacher to broaden his own attitudes toward his pupils. As he broadens his attitudes he changes the child's, for although attitudes are taught, they are also caught. Attitudes are better taught if caught, and better caught if taught.

The following teacher attitudes selected from *Encouraging Children to Learn*, by Dinkmeyer and Dreikurs, will help teachers change the negative attitudes of slow learners.

1. Accept children as they are. Like them as they are so they can like themselves.
2. Show a faith in the child that enables the child to have faith in himself.
3. Make him feel that it is all right to try. If he fails, failure is no crime.
4. Be pleased with a reasonably good attempt.
5. Show confidence in his ability to become competent.

In addition to convincing the slow learner that he is important, it is necessary to convince him that mathematics itself is important. Since we live in a world of quantity, it is not too difficult to expose him to simple problem situations that require a knowledge of mathematics. Problems involving the buying of an ice-cream cone, a pair of shoes, or a trip to a theater across town show the child that it is important to understand what his allowance will buy. A simple contest, such as collecting large numerals and telling where they are found and what they represent reveals the importance of understanding the difference between 100,000 and 1,000,000. Experimenting at school or at home with such measures as a measuring cup, a drinking glass, and pint and quart containers helps to make the study of measure important for the slow learner.

Much of my time was spent "making up" exercises of this type. Today there are books that contain exercises of this nature. Now the teacher may select an example of the problem that she needs and modify the exercise to suit her purpose.

Dinkmeyer and Dreikurs suggest that teachers use the interest of the child to energize instructions. This really works, as I have found out through experience. Several years ago, many of our slow learners were classified as occupational. That is, they were children who "gave evidence of not being successful in academic work or becoming skilled mechanics. They did give evidence of having some ability to obtain information with regard to occupations that might lead toward future work and good citizenship." I taught a group of occupational girls a unit in geometry through the study

and construction of "Touches of White" for the neck. This group studied the geometric shapes enthusiastically, selected the collars and jabots that they wanted, constructed and decorated them. Through their construction work the girls learned the properties of the plane figures. They learned to use and understand the relationships between the radius, diameter, and circumference of a circle. They found it necessary to use horizontal, vertical, and oblique line segments. The perimeters of squares and rectangles were studied. They learned to use the ruler and compass. They learned about fractions through their use of the fractional parts of the inch. There were times when the girls struggled to master a situation, but the enthusiasm never lagged. When the unit was completed, the girls were anxious to bring members of other classes into their classroom to see their work on display.

This same group of girls centered their work in percentage around the school saving-stamp drive. A part of their activity each Monday morning during the mathematics period was a savings-stamp march to the school bank. If there were any girls who were not buying stamps they did not have to march. There was record work to be done. The girls who remained in the room made their contribution to the class by beginning the record work. There is very little tangible evidence of the success of a unit of this type except through observation of the enthusiasm and growth of the pupils in the class. One Monday morning, however, Mary Lewis, a pupil in that occupational class, showed up with $600 to buy savings stamps!

Emphasis on the importance of mathematics does not greatly help the child to understand number relationships. In this area techniques and materials are the factors of prime importance. In my classes for slow learners we decided to take a "new look at mathematics." This established the fact that the mathematics my pupils thought they knew might not have been the best mathematics. It set the stage for new ideas and lessened the possibility of their saying, "We didn't learn to do it that way."

The mathematics class was considered a mathematics laboratory. Materials for classroom demonstration and materials for pupil manipulation were on display. Some type of activity was provided for pupils to begin as soon as they entered the classroom. Often these activities were taken from booklets such as Row Peterson's *Enrichment Materials for Grades 3–8.*

Bulletin boards were kept attractive, instructive, and interesting. The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics has published a pamphlet entitled "How to Use Your Bulletin Board." It gives excellent suggestions on where to find bulletin-board material, appropriate topics to use, and, of course, how to build effective bulletin-board displays.

In this laboratory atmosphere my pupils began to discover as much as they could about our number system. They were fascinated when they found that our number system uses only ten number symbols. They studied the structure of the number system the base ten, the relative value of places, and regrouping. They used real money, play money, toothpicks, disks, paper strips, Christmas seals, and any other available material to help them

understand place value and regrouping. They studied the number line and the processes of combining and separating as they are related to our number system. They made their own number line for individual use.

You may be interested in one mother's comment when her daughter brought a number line home. The mother said, "It was fascinating to see her stretch that number line on the floor and begin working with it. You know, I believe she is understanding multiplication for the first time."

As a natural outcome of the attempt to learn all that they could about numbers, my pupils discovered that addition and subtraction are related, multiplication and division are related, addition and multiplication are related, and subtraction and division are related. They discovered that they could use facts that they knew to help them get facts that they did not know. The result was not always a correct conclusion, for example, one girl had fixed in her mind the ideas that $3 \times 8 = 24$ and $8 \times 3 = 24$; 9×3 was one more 3, or 27, and 7×3 was one 3 less than 8×3, or 21. Soon after this she needed the product of 4×6. She did not know the product, so she wrote 12 and 12, which represented $(2 \times 6) + (2 \times 6)$ to her. When her result was 24, she said, "Oh, no, that can't be because $3 \times 8 = 24$." This kind of thinking makes it necessary for the slow learner to return to concrete material to prove that she is thinking incorrectly and to discover that 3×8 and 4×6 are both 24.

When this kind of mathematics was begun in my mathematics classes we did not know the terms used in the new mathematics. But we used the commutative property of addition and multiplication to help us reduce the number of facts that we had to memorize. We used the associative and distributive properties to help us get addition and multiplication facts that we did not remember from those that we remembered. We used "if-then" reasoning about the inverse operations to prevent our having to memorize separately the facts of the four operations. Lack of knowledge of these terms did not hinder our progress in the least. You will find many of these properties of numbers used in the original games that I shall describe later.

Pupils were made to feel free to use any of the materials in the classroom to help them with their learning and practice. In rare cases, an individual might ask to use an aid in a testing situation. Each pupil had his own individual kit. These kits consisted of pocket charts and sets of digits to use in the study of whole numbers and decimal fractions. Their fraction kits contained several whole units and several units that were divided into fractional parts. These and other learning aids helped many pupils over hurdles that would have required additional teacher assistance.

Each pupil had his own progress folder. He realized that the more completed material his folder contained, the better was his progress. He also realized that the longer he used learning aids, the slower he worked. I think such realizations kept the pupils from using aids after they no longer needed them.

The individual pocket charts, and sets of digits are used to help pupils to understand, read, and recognize numerals. My first game, "You Find It," provides enjoyable drill in automatic control of the ability to read and recognize numerals. "You Find It," a bingo-type game, consists of four sets, two for whole numbers and two for decimal fractions. The game may be used in the classroom as a drill game or in the home as a social game. There is a set of master cards which contains the numerals written in words and symbols. These cards are used by the caller during the game and for checking the winner. The caller has the opportunity to see and read the numerals. The players have the opportunity to hear and recognize them and the winner has the added opportunity to read the numerals in the check.

A part of every pupil's mathematical knowledge should include the fact that numbers are ordered. The number line is an important tool for developing the concept of order. Slow learners find their pocket charts useful in helping them to determine the relative value of decimal fractions. "Order, Please?" is a game that provides practice in arranging numbers in order of size. This game comes in a series—one set for whole numbers, one for common fractions, one for decimal fractions, and one for common and decimal fractions.

Number relationships are emphasized in modern mathematics. Addition and subtraction facts are learned together. Multiplication and division facts are learned together. For example, $4 \times 8 = 32$, $8 \times 4 = 32$, $32 \div 4 = 8$, are learned together and make a number family. The game, "Concentrate," is a game based on the number families. Each deck involves two operations —addition and subtraction or multiplication and division. They provide drill in the facts and practice in recognizing the relationship between the operations. This game may be played with as few as 16 cards or as many as 58. Sometimes these games turn out to be fun for the entire family. One girl who earned a set of "Concentrate" home said, "My father played it with me and he really enjoyed it. Do you know what my father said? He said he thinks that I am learning more mathematics than he did when he was in school."

Slow learners have poor memories. We try to reduce the number of facts they must remember by helping them develop the ability to use the *facts they know to arrive quickly at unknown facts*. We spend much time on combinations *whose sum is ten*. Then, if $8 + 5$ gives difficulty, we can think of 5 as $2 + 3$, and $8 + 5$ becomes $(8 + 2) + 3$. The sum can be found faster this way than it could by finger counting. The distributive property, as has been shown earlier, may be used to help with products. Pupils need plenty of opportunity to use their ability to do this type of thinking. "Number Whist" provides this opportunity. The game does not demand too much speed, yet creates the desire to speed up the activity. "Number Whist" has decks for addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division. The properties of zero and one are emphasized by making them assume the value of face cards in a

deck of regular playing cards. The game is played very much as the social game, whist. However, each player must give the correct response to the fact on the card that he plays.

After a pupil thoroughly understands the relationships with which he is dealing, he is then ready to drill for automatic control of the facts. "The Sum's the Same" and "The Same Difference" are games designed to develop speed in responding to addition and subtraction facts. In these games all combinations resulting in the same sum are placed in a pocket labeled with that sum, and all expressions that give the same remainder are placed in a pocket labeled with that difference. These games are useful in helping to determine which facts to concentrate on during study period.

"Fraction Grab Bag" is a team game. In this game pupils are given the opportunity to distinguish between proper and improper fractions and to express each fraction in its simplest form.

"Whirl It" extends the mental computation of the slow learner from one basic fact to two. This is a spin-the-wheel game. Three numerals appear in the window each time the wheel is turned. The player gives the product of the first two numbers and adds to the product the number that appears in the third window.

"Combination Grab Bag" makes practice in problem-solving fun. The relationship between addition and multiplication and the relationship between subtraction and division are emphasized in this game. Problems are classified into those that are solved by combining and those that are solved by separating. There are five levels of difficulty represented in the problems. Points are given on the basis of difficulty. One form of the game simply requires the identification of the method of solution. When the player is required to solve the problem he may do it orally or in writing.

Having fun in mathematics is most desirable, but it must add to rather than detract from the learning situation. If used wisely these games will do just that. They were created because they provided some of the practice needed by the slow learner in the junior high school, and, at the same time, they were of a type that interested slow learners on this level. Their value is increased when the teacher allows the participants to ask a player to "prove" that his response is correct.

Experts agree that games, if used wisely, have a very important place in the successful teaching of the slow learner. They further state that games which are popular in the home should be adapted to the classroom to create interest in mathematics. The games that I have created are of the type that pupils enjoy in the classroom and at home.

In conclusion, let me leave you with this thought to pass on to your slow learners: To look is one thing. To see what you look at is another. To understand what you see is a third. To learn from what you understand is still something else. But to be able to act on what you learn is really all that matters.

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PART SEVEN

The Fine Arts

Much is to be found in education literature nn the desirability nf music and art activities for "reaching" the educatinnally deprived youngster. However, as the number of articles in this section attest to, the literature in the area nf music and art that describes specific techniques is scarce.

Altbough Armstrong's article is based on some questionable assumptions (that is, the disadvantaged child is aesthetically impoverished and does not experience music in his home), both her article and McCoy's offer a defensible rationale for including music in the curriculum of disadvantaged students. Both see music as an instrument for promoting significant growth in non-music areas, such as self-concept, and McCoy describes an excellent strategy for teaching music.

Jensen, as an elementary art instructnr, describes n number of art activities that are creative, practical, and that ntilize materials common tn any school located in n deprived area. Actually, most nf the art activities she describes cnuld be nsed to enrich academic units in the elementary school.

❊ Music Education for Culturally Deprived High School Students

NAOMI S. ARMSTRONG

The education of the disadvantaged or the culturally deprived has been a concern of educators and social and political leaders for many years, but only recently has the magnitude and urgency of the problem begun to receive the attention it has long deserved. Poverty and all of its accompanying afflictions, whether found in teeming metropolitan slums or in desolate rural areas, is so degrading to the human spirit that young people who grow up knowing nothing else seem almost powerless to rise above it without some effective outside help.

Those who are working, observing, and writing about the disadvantaged consistently state that one of the greatest problems of these people is the lack of a feeling of self-worth and dignity, and when poverty is compounded by racial factors, the lack is even greater. The following paragraph dramatizes this point:

> As serious as are the consequences of racial discrimination upon employment and residential opportunities for those discriminated against, there is another, more insidious, and farther reaching effect of such prejudice—the negation of the victim's ego. Psychiatry and psychology have amassed quantities of evidence that the human organism intrinsically strives toward healthy personality integration and self-realization, and that self-hatred is one of the major factors impeding this process. Thus, confinement to low-paying and irregular jobs, to urban ghettos with their decrepit and often hazardous dwelling units—each a debilitating factor in its own right—also leads to self-deprecation when contrasted with the standards of white middle-class life. When the [non-white person] is further confronted with hatred, resentment, injustice, and apathy on the part of his white fellow human, his feelings of personal worthlessness become even more fixed, and he is even less likely to find the energy and purpose necessary for upward mobility.[1]

Plans for the education of the culturally deprived must be made with all of the inherent problems taken into consideration, and it is appropriate to examine what each subject area can contribute, and how it can be taught most effectively.

[1] Marie D. Fantini and Gerald Weinstein. *The Disadvantaged. Challenge to Education* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), p. 26.

A discussion of music education, which is one type of aesthetic education, must begin with a clear understanding of its basic purposes, the justification for its inclusion in the general public school curriculum, and what seem to be its special values for disadvantaged students.

It would be reasonable to question whether or not the inclusion of aesthetic education might be somewhat premature at this point, for no one can dispute the prime need for help in solving personal problems and the mastery of communicative and quantitative skills which are essential for making a living. Merely enabling these young people to make a living, however, will not *significantly change their lives unless they are also exposed to* influences that make living exciting and meaningful. "Neither an outstanding nation nor a worthy individual can be intellectually mature and aesthetically impoverished."[2]

Since 1838, when music was first given a place of equal importance with other academic subjects in the curriculum in the schools of Boston, the emphasis of music education has changed periodically; and at times music has been taught more for nonmusical reasons than for genuine *musical values. It has become increasingly apparent that music cannot be given a justifiable place in the curriculum based only on the seven cardinal principles of education or upon the four objectives of the Educational Policies Commission. The study of music deserves a place in the curriculum because of the educational qualities that are unique to music, because an aesthetic experience brought about through music is one important way of enhancing and enriching the living process, and because "musical experience when cultivated by training gives rise to a special type of interest and enjoyment."[3]

These basic reasons for the inclusion of music in the curriculum cannot be emphasized too strongly, regardless of the socio-economic level of the students, because music in the schools is too often used for public relations and entertainment purposes to the exclusion of real musical values. Music becomes a very expensive luxury in public education when the major emphasis is the performance of a few instead of the appreciation by the majority.

According to the noted psychologist, Abraham Maslow, humanistic psychologists are discovering "that the human being has higher needs, that he has instincts—like needs, which are a part of his biological equipment—the need to be dignified ... and to be respected, and the need to be free for self-development."[4]

Maslow refers to the most wonderful experiences of life, happy or

[2] National Association of Secondary School Principals, "The Arts in the Comprehensive Secondary School," *Perspectives in Music Education*, Source Book III, B. C. Kowall, ed. (Music Educators National Conference, Washington, D.C., 1966).

[3] Harry S. Broudy, "Educational Theory and the Music Curriculum," *Perspectives in Music Education*, p. 163.

[4] Abraham Maslow, "Music Education and Peak Experience," *Music Educators Journal*, LIV (February, 1968), pp. 72–75, 163–171.

ecstatic moments, moments of rapture or creativity as peak experiences, and he has made some interesting studies on what effects these experiences have on people. Some of the aftereffects of these experiences are listed below:

1. They can change the person's view of himself in a healthy direction.
2. They can change his view of other people and his relations to them in many ways.
3. They can change more or less permanently his view of the world, or of aspects or parts of it.
4. They can release him for greater creativity, spontanicy, expressiveness. . . .
5. The person is more apt to feel that life in general is worthwhile, even if it is usually drab, pedestrian, painful or ungratifying, since beauty, excitement, honesty, play, goodness, truth and meaningfulness have been demonstrated to him to exist.[5]

A third and last quote from Maslow will show why these ideas are significant to this discussion.

In our investigations of peak experiences we found many, many triggers, many kinds of experiences that would set them off. It looks as if any experience of real excellency, of real perfection, of any moving toward the perfect truth, of perfect beauty, of great excellence, of perfect justice, and so on, tends to produce a peak experience . . . It happens that music, and rhythm and dancing—this kind of trigger, this kind of stimulation, tends to do all kinds of things to our nervous systems, our different glands, our feelings, and our emotions . . . This is a path, one of the ways that we try to teach self-actualization—the discovery of identity.

Education in music, education in art, education in dancing and rhythm, are far closer to intrinsic education, that is, of learning your identity, than other parts of education. If education doesn't do that, it is useless. Learning to grow, learning what to grow toward, learning what is good and bad, learning what is desirable and undesirable, learning what to choose and what not to choose—it is in this realm of intrinsic learning and intrinsic education that I think the arts, and especially the ones that I have mentioned, are so close to our physiological and biological core, so close to this biological identity that rather than think of the arts as whipped cream, we ought to think of them as fundamental.[6]

Drucker, in *Landmarks of Tomorrow*, advances another viewpoint which is relevant to the value of music in the education of the disadvantaged. He classifies the arts as practical subjects which offer "the challenge of workmanship" in contrast to "book" subjects, and that ". . . even the limited practical contribution of the arts as the students' only access to the demands and rewards of workmanship should give them a high place in the education of an educated person in an educated society."[7]

Music educators would do well to bear this viewpoint in mind in regard

[5] Maslow, *Toward a Psychology of Being* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1962), p. 95.
[6] Maslow, "Music Education and Peak Experiences."
[7] Peter F. Drucker, *Landmarks of Tomorrow* (New York: Harper & Bros., Publishers, 1959), pp. 144–5.

to the education of the disadvantaged. As it is used here, practical is related to practice, and music certainly does require that. The significance of this idea to this discussion is that the work which is put into learning to sing or to play some musical instrument leads visibly to improving performance, and few of these young people have job opportunities that afford this kind of satisfaction.

Concentrated efforts toward the education of the disadvantaged, and particularly the aesthetic education, have been started too recently to provide us with much conclusive statistical information, and consequently, most writing on the subject is descriptive and speculative. However, the report on the Demonstration Guidance Project (Pilot Program for Higher Horizons)[6] conducted in New York City from September, 1957, through the spring of 1962, does indicate with the support of some systematic evaluation that aesthetic education is an extremely important and meaningful influence in the education of the culturally deprived.

The cultural activities sponsored by the Demonstration Guidance Project consisted of visits to art galleries, concerts, ballets, plays, and musical theater, which included Broadway musicals, Gilbert and Sullivan operettas, and at least one grand opera. Excerpts from a few of the students' comments give some insight into what these experiences meant to them:

I can say with a true tongue that if it were not for the project, I would not have gone on most of these trips . . . Another reason is I did not think I would enjoy the ballet and concerts because I thought they were, to put it mildly, 'long hair.' Quite to the contrary, I found all these trips very enjoyable.

I think that the trips gave us a chance to see, without someone telling us, that education can take many courses.

The cultural program has been a very valuable one to me in terms of added knowledge, for since life is all one big experience the more experience you have, the better you have lived.[9]

ton, Kentucky, when a Title I grant made possible the purchase of a large number of stringed instruments (one hundred violins and a proportionate number of violas, cellos, and string basses) which could be loaned to students, and the employment of two teachers to give instruction on these instruments.

In addition to learning about music and how to play the instruments, many of these students improved in their other work as well. Some of the reasons given for this were that the music classes provided motivation for them to attend school more regularly, and the pride of "owning" a real instrument (and the instruments are of very good quality) seemed to add a great deal to the morale of these boys and girls. It is reassuring to note that not one instrument has been stolen or lost, and that in many cases the students and their families have since managed to purchase instruments on their own.

The orchestras that the purchase of these instruments has made possible are still thriving, and are a source of pride, not only to the players, but to the other students and teachers as well.

High school music courses should provide students with opportunities to learn to experience music both emotionally and intellectually and through this process to develop musical taste. In order to achieve these objectives, it is necessary for students to feel, hear, make, and explore music, and later on to learn to read it and to have some understanding of music history and styles, theory and forms. For those who have the ability and interest there should be opportunities to perform music, either instrumental or choral; however, students who are not potential performers should not be denied the opportunity to enjoy music.

Since most students who have grown up with marginal living standards have had little or no exposure to music at home or in school, it seems that the kinds of experiences that would be necessary to open up the understanding of music in these students could best be offered in general music classes or some kind of cultural exploratory classes. Here the students would do a great deal of music making—singing, dancing, playing informal instruments, possibly composing some of their own music, and listening. The experiences offered in these classes would be limited only by the teacher's imagination, energy, and effectiveness.

At present there are not textbooks or organized supplementary materials available for classes such as these. Most of the current junior and senior high school music books in the major series are of excellent quality, but they are planned with the assumption that the students have had a thorough musical background, and like most other textbooks, they have a definite middle-class aura about them. The need for suitable materials should present an inviting challenge to some creative persons.

One logical way to begin a general music class would be to start with music that is indigenous to the group. This is a valid approach because the students can become immediately involved with familiar music; they can

sing it expressively and can understand the idiom when they hear it because it is actually an extension of their own language and culture. Also, there is real musical value in much folk music, and it is one part of their heritage in which these students can have genuine pride. In order to have satisfying musical experiences, people must become totally involved in music, and it is to be hoped that the students who sing a spiritual or some other kind of folk song with natural emotional sensitivity and rhythmic vitality will also respond to the wonderful liveliness and beauty in the music of a more intellectual nature.

Obviously, a great deal of importance should be placed on listening experiences. Music is an aural art, and it must be heard in order to have any meaning. Hearing about music, reading composers' biographies, painting pictures to illustrate various pieces of program music, and many other typical musical activities may serve as valuable motivation, but they are not music.

There are many effective ways of arranging for group listening experiences in class, and the value of actually attending concerts, ballets, and operas have been pointed out in the comments about New York's Demonstration Guidance Project.

Some provisions should also be made for students who want and need to listen individually. Although there is no documentation for this notion, it seems reasonable that young people who live in such crowded conditions at home that they have almost no privacy, and who come to school feeling depressed, angry, lonely, or afraid would welcome the opportunity to choose a recording and listen to it alone. This suggestion is made with the full realization that such arrangements would require some expensive equipment and supervision, but it also appears to be worth the investment.

It has already been stated that one of the most important outcomes of music education should be the development of musical taste. Efforts toward this objective will require all of the imagination, enthusiasm, musicianship, and general know-how any teacher can command. A teacher cannot expect his students to accept the music of Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, and Bartok as good or excellent just because he, the teacher, says it is. He must inform them about music and expose them to *as much fine music as possible,* but he must allow the students to make their own value judgments, trusting in the inherent *appeal of good music.*

The choice of a teacher for culturally disadvantaged students is of vital importance. This is hardly the place for most beginning teachers or for teachers who have used the same methods of teaching for the last twenty years. The person who works with these students, in addition to being musically capable, must be able to achieve a high degree of rapport with them, to treat them with respect even though they cannot always look attractive and clean or be in the best of spirits, and are frequently indifferent or antagonistic to him and everything he tries to do. He will probably be very frustrated if he is unyieldingly determined to produce and promote the finest bands, orchestras, or choruses. Certainly his students' performances

should be musically sensitive, accurate, and alive, but they must not be achieved by the high pressure methods that so often squelch interest and enthusiasm. In other words, he must be dedicated to teaching high school students through music instead of just teaching music to these very special high school students.

The challenges presented in this kind of situation indicate a great need for the best of creative teaching, requiring the teacher to be imaginative, willing to experiment, inquisitive, receptive to new ideas, and flexible in adapting to new learning situations.

It is apparent that some changes need to be made in teacher education to prepare teachers to deal with the special problems of the disadvantaged. In her excellent article on "The Preparation of Music Education for the Culturally Disadvantaged,"[11] Frances Andrews offers a number of specific suggestions.

(a) The development of an understanding of the depressed conditions in which many of the culturally disadvantaged exist, conditions that may create complete indifference not only to the musical values accepted but also to musical experiences and materials.

(b) A heavy emphasis on the properties of music as a common means of expression that has always existed in many cultures and at many levels.

(c) A teacher commitment to the business of opening up understanding of music in the hearts and minds of children who are poorly cared for . . . inadequately housed, clothed, and fed.

(d) An emphasis on learning by doing, by making much music . . . The musical experiences offered must be extremely rich in music itself, rather than talking about music or stressing the symbolic aspects of music . . . The teacher should be prepared to make, or join in and encourage pupils in the making of music that is indigenous to [them].

(e) The teacher . . . must somehow be inoculated against the aspects of cultural shock typical of the impoverished, submarginal environment.

(f) The training of the new breed of teacher in areas of applied, theoretical, and historical music must be both thorough and practical . . . for it may well be that the teacher-violinist who can play a country fiddle tune as well as a Brahms "Hungarian Dance" will have more status in . . . the group with which he works than will the teacher more limited in his musical repertoire.

(g) . . . the teacher of the disadvantaged must be prepared to live with a little success and much failure in the beginnings of his work.

(h) . . . the training of such teachers must develop a spirit of endurance and dedication that will equip them to engage and persevere in the endeavor of bringing music to those who need it, regardless of the poverty and misery of the conditions in which they exist.

Dorothy Maynor, a retired, world-acclaimed Negro soprano, recently founded and now devotes her time to the Harlem School of the Arts in New York City. Miss Maynor described some of her purposes and dreams

[11] Frances Andrews, "The Preparation of Music Educators for the Culturally Disadvantaged," *Music Educators Journal*, LIII (February, 1967), pp. 42–44.

for the school in a moving address which she delivered at the Tanglewood Symposium on Music in American Society, held in July, 1967. Her comments present a strong case for aesthetic education for the culturally deprived.

... What we are counting on, and in some small ways our hopes are bearing fruit already, is that a lad who seems to have little or no purpose, who has never been taken very seriously by his parents or by the other kids on the block or even by his teachers in the public schools, that such a boy or girl might, just by learning to concentrate on mastering an instrument, or in the blending of colors . . . in some way this child may be taught to dream and to realize that dreams are quite real. And if this is kept up for a while, that child will one day look in the mirror and see something that he never saw before—the makings of a real human being.[12]

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Music and the Disadvantaged Child

EUGENE B. MCCOY

The goal of a music program is not merely to develop performers, but also consumers of "good music." Even further than this, music can and must give youth, especially culturally disadvantaged youth, a sense of identity and belonging.

My personal conviction is that if a person knows his cultural heritage, whatever it may be, the accomplishments of his people and the different personalities of his race who have made substantial contributions, his self takes on a new image. His enlightenment brings him a profound sense of pride and dignity.

A disadvantaged youngster seldom, if ever, leaves the confines of his environs. He rarely knows much of the "outside" and cannot communicate effectively with anyone outside his environs. He has no hopes, dreams or aspirations for all he ever sees is degradation, hopelessness, and the signs of poverty. He knows little of the general culture and its values. Moreover, he has a set of values foreign to the general culture and in many instances his values are in violent opposition to those considered acceptable by the majority.

He therefore lives in a world of his own, unable to adapt to new situations without causing or creating chaotic situations. He has no feelings of belonging, hence he views people unfamiliar to him with frustration, distrust, and negativism. Not only is he poor economically, but he is also "poor in spirit."

No greater challenge can be presented to today's music teacher than the unfolding of "goodness" and "beauty" to youngsters who have a dark veil of nothingness surrounding them. No other subject matter can meet the immediate and pressing personal needs of the disadvantaged youth better than music. In the fall of 1965, I entered a school system where there was a diversity of backgrounds and cultures. There were Negroes, Syrians, Jews, Mexicans, Chinese and Southern white youngsters in my classes. Since many of these children were disadvantaged, I decided to test my ideas about music.

Whenever I would mention a particular race or culture and its music, the students involved would cringe, show resentment or become terribly embarrassed. The students did not care to identify with their particular

ethnic group. It was evident that they needed a positive sense of self-worth and some "exciting" understanding of others.

Each Race Contributes

No one could answer the question, "What did your people contribute to music?" Indeed, they seemed dumbfounded because the question was asked. This was the time to point out to these children that they were worth something. In capsule form here is what was said:

"Each of us being human, we have automatically a sense of pride and dignity. If we know from what we have come, despite present circumstances, this pride and dignity takes on deeper sense. For instance, how many of you Negro youngsters know that the Negro spiritual is considered the purest of all folk forms? Did you know that the southern Negro contributed two basic art forms namely spirituals and jazz and much of the music of America has grown from their influence? . . . We find that the Chinese contributed the five tone scale and many other scales have been built from this one. . . . We find that the Hebrews (Jews) contributed the idea of two choirs facing each other with the one answering the other. This is known as antiphonal singing which is the style used in many Protestant churches."

As I discussed these points at length, citing each group's contribution, the youngsters perked up in astonishment to know that someone in their race had actually contributed something to music. To enhance the information, I sat down at the piano and sang Negro spirituals, gospel music, and "hillbilly" songs. We also played the recordings of operatic arias. The students—Chinese, Pakistanians, Jewish and others—were asked to bring in recordings of their music. The response was overwhelming.

The interest ran so high that students brought in reports which were not asked for, some even from those students who do not usually respond or do the class work. Additional records for listening were contributed. Questions were raised concerning stereotypes of races, skin color, difference in people. Parents, too, became interested and contributed to the unit.

After singing a stirring spiritual, I was impressed to hear a Negro child say, "That's ours." Before he had heard them sung in the presence of his classmates, and upon the initial introduction of the song, he had mocked and laughed at the music. The same boy had changed his mind and became cause of the music, saw himself in a different way. Attitudes on race were changed, and this was a major victory.

I violently disagree with those people who say ghetto youngsters cannot transcend their environment. Many people in the ghetto are seeking a better existence and want desperately to escape the confines and environs of the ghetto. As I reflect on my own boyhood days in a ghetto, people of questionable character would encourage me not to be like them, but rather to "work hard to get an education." In the midst of gamblers, homosexuals, dope addicts, prostitutes, and even murderers, I longed for something better.

I yearned to enjoy the opportunities which an education could bring and craved for "social graces," and wanted very much not to be identified with the filth and squalor of my "disadvantaged" area.

Three Suggestions

I propose the following three ways whereby music programs can give the disadvantaged child the identity, belonging and self-confidence which he so badly needs.

1. Teach a folk music unit with particular emphasis on the cultural contributions to music. Cite also the stature of the music and its place in American or world culture. Famous personalities of that particular culture should be discussed at length.

2. Discuss the background of the "people" in detail before presenting any music. Specifics must be given in each case for many youngsters are ashamed of their background, and the teacher can dispel this feeling by discussing this background quite frankly. A teacher can make a youngster think more positively about a subject which is not much discussed because of its implications, such as Negro slavery.

3. Provide for music excursions to many concerts, to recording companies, and even out of state to musical happenings. Bring to the school, music programs of very high calibre with the performing groups being of different races to enhance further the idea of identity for the youngster.

Most important of all, the teacher should see the worth of all students and learn to communicate with all youngsters particularly those who are disadvantaged. If he is shown the respect which is due him, the youngster, in turn, shows the proper respect which adults should have.

✿ Art Activities That Relate

AMY ELIZABETH JENSEN

Culturally deprived children need a different kind of art program. Because family finances are usually limited backgrounds and experiences of such pupils are often lacking. Thus, schools can profit from making a special effort to develop a rich art and craft program. One excellent way to do so is through art projects directly associated with the lives of these children.

Specifically, pupils can be helped to explore their immediate community and surrounding area (including parks, zoos, gardens, architectural structures, woods, farms, bodies of water, city streets, and country roads). They should be taken to public museums, private galleries libraries, art fairs, and other places where exhibitions are held. Stores, shops, and salesrooms where various art products are displayed will also be of interest. And visits to working studios, shops, and classes will give students an opportunity to see artists, designers, and craftsmen demonstrate in their particular field.

Works of art loaned by museums and private collectors, pictures, photographs, slides, filmstrips, opaque projections, tape recordings, and records with accompanying illustrations, television, and other visual aids can help teach various techniques and processes. Files of collected materials, biographies of artists, and many arts and crafts books and magazines should be available to pupils at all times.

Some Program Guidelines

1. Let pupils create many projects which they can take home.
2. Plan projects involving articles for personal adornment and use. (Children derive satisfaction from such work.)
3. Send messages home with artwork samples, pointing out the child's accomplishment. Parents thus receive information and incidentally learn ways to live better.
4. Construct games, toys, and imitation musical instruments. These are fun for the children and help them occupy their free time.
5. To give pupils a background for social living, create decorations, favors, and table settings for school parties.
6. Make costumes and stage sets for special holidays to acquaint pupils with historical happenings and celebrations.

7. Take the children on many kinds of field trips to provide them with subject matter for art.

8. Provide many opportunities for appreciation of various kinds of art.

9. Correlate art with other subjects to help pupils realize that art can be related to many areas of school life.

10. Study materials, clothing, design, and color to help youngsters make wise purchases with the little money they do have and to help them improve their personal appearance.

11. Study home furnishings to create a desire for better things and help them to make suitable selections.

12. Plan several "fun" activities such as masks, puppets, and cartoons, so pupils can experience joy and laugh at life.

13. Have open-ended projects which children can complete at home so that they will have something to occupy their time and can interest other family members in similar activities.

14. Display the work of all pupils so that they can enjoy the feeling of importance.

Specific Items Pupils Can Create

For the Home

Wastebaskets—from large ice cream buckets or similar containers; covered with wallpaper; trimmed with braid, tape, cotton roving, or similar materials.

Kitchen accessories and containers for various collections—from cans, glass containers, cosmetic jars, plastic bottles, clay jars, and jugs; gaily enameled; decorated with decals made from cutouts in seed catalogs.

Laundry bags—sewn from worn sheets; decorated with printed or plain cotton appliqués.

Wall decorations—figures cut from plywood with a coping saw or jigsaw; painted.

Rag rugs—braided from strips cut from worn clothing or dyed nylon hose.

Tablecloths and napkins, or mat sets—muslin with embroidered or stick-printed designs, or cotton material with appliqués of printed fabrics.

Mobiles—wire coat hangers or cardboard hoops covered with paper ribbon; strings attached hold sculptured-paper birds, dancers, planes, animals, and so on.

For Personal Use

Mittens—cut from old coats, sweaters, or wool remnants; buttonholed edges; embroidered.

Shopping bag—made from a net vegetable sack; decorated with yarn embroidery or felt.

Jewelry—molded from papier-mâché, and painted and decorated; wire twisted into interesting shapes, dipped in liquid plastic, and trimmed with sequins, glitter, or beads; clay shaped in attractive forms, then dried, decorated, glazed, and fired.

School bags—oilcloth over cardboard; painted with designs suggested by school activities.

To Use in Free Time

Inner-tube animals—cut from two pieces of tubing with punched holes around the edges bound with cord; stuffed with rags; painted features.

Wagons and cars—small wooden boxes, with half spools nailed on for wheels; painted.

Rag or felt dolls—cut from double pieces of fabric and sewn together; stuffed with cotton or kapok; embroidered features; yarn hair, costumes from fabric.

Bobbing figures—shaped from Plasticine and covered with papier mâché which is then dried and cut in half; Plasticine is removed and sections put together and painted; features are added; head and body are connected with a small spring.

Miniature animal circus—tent is a heavy paper cylinder with a cone top and is striped with poster paint; animals and trainers are cut from cardboard, painted, and set in slit, folded bases.

Bookshelves—from crates and boxes; sanded and stained, or painted and decorated with folk art designs.

Bookends—shaped with tin snips from pieces of metal, and textured by pounding with nail and hammer or sculptured by rubbing a pencil-drawn design with a pointed stick.

Table scarves or wall hangings—woven on a notched cardboard loom strung with carpet warp or yarn.

Nature pictures—dried flowers, weeds, grasses, branches, and pods glued to a piece of grained wood.

Mosaic panels—yarn or braid design on burlap-covered cardboard, with pressed-on gravel tile or dyed seeds over areas spread with glue.

Catchalls—large cardboard or tin containers covered with burlap; decorated with glued-on yarn for designs and borders.

Caps, collars, headbands, ties, and belts—sewn from felt scraps; decorated with appliqués, yarn embroidery, braid, or beadwork.

Aprons—sewn from plain or printed cotton, following simple pattern cut from wrapping paper.

Washcloths and hand towels—different shapes cut from the good portions of large worn ones; buttonholed edges.

7. Take the children on many kinds of field trips to provide them with subject matter for art.

8. Provide many opportunities for appreciation of various kinds of art.

9. Correlate art with other subjects to help pupils realize that art can be related to many areas of school life.

10. Study materials, clothing, design, and color to help youngsters make wise purchases with the little money they do have and to help them improve their personal appearance.

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PART EIGHT

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Behavior Modification Principles
and Other Techniques for
Working with the Disadvantaged

The systematic use of operant conditioning (or behavior modification
theory) in teaching is a relatively new development in education. It is also
a controversial one. Although three educators represented in this book—
Strang, Katz, and Bogut—describe programs and methods that make some
use of this theory, for the most part, it has been the psychologist who has
made the effort to establish such programs in the public schools.

The three articles that describe formal behavior modification
programs and procedures (Ulrich's two articles and Wood's), do, without
a doubt, demonstrate that such techniques enable children to learn
effectively new behaviors and to control or modify previously acquired ones.
Procedures based on behavior modification theory are concrete and specific
and can be learned quickly by teachers who need new approaches in their
classrooms. The use of operant conditioning theory by teachers promotes
desirable teaching behaviors that have long been advocated by professional
educators and psychologists alike—for example, observing and making
decisions based on children's actual behavior; defining educational
objectives in specific behavioral terms; and emphasis on positive
reinforcement techniques rather than aversive or punitive methods

Ulrich, DeLoach, and Arnett, in the first article, describe an
innovative program for disadvantaged children that includes the use of
behavior modification techniques, programmed materials, and the utilization
of students as teachers. Ulrich, Wolfe, and Bluhm then discuss their efforts
to establish a preventive and remedial program based on operant theory
in the public school. Of particular interest is Ulrich's dialogue with Mrs.
Jones relative to the ethical issues some teachers raise concerning the
practice of deliberately using reinforcement to modify another's behavior.
This article and the succeeding one, written by Wood, provide the reader
with some ideas of how classroom teachers learned the principles of
reinforcement and then applied them in their classrooms to modify

children's academic and social behaviors. The Maehr article reminds us that the application of reinforcement theory in teaching may have its limitations, too. Some learning may be more complex than reinforcement theory allows it to be. Teachers should consider the subjective as well as the objective side of reinforcement and need to know how the learner views the process of being reinforced for certain things that he does in the classroom.

Other techniques are valuable in promoting effective education for deprived students. The Detroit Board of Education article prescribes specific practices for developing the self-concepts of pre-schoolers in a language arts program context. Many of these could be adapted for use with older children. Josie Crystal provides a sensitive, sincere, and modest account of her attempts to improve student relationships and class morale by using role-playing and pantomime in her inner-city classroom of pre-adolescents. Although not intended as such, it is a poignant character sketch of a teacher who cares about her students.

Bogut describes a scheduling change that seemed to have positive effects on the attitudes of his elementary students. However, his segmented scheduling of subjects probably does not represent the kind of schedule which appeals to most teachers of self-contained classrooms.

Finally, Katz offers a "survival guide" of various techniques for beginning high school teachers. This last article may impress the reader as being somewhat cynical in tone unless he reads it through to the final paragraph.

⚛ Teaching the Disadvantaged[1]

ROGER ULRICH, MARILYN S. ARNETT,
AND THOMAS DELOACH

"If that kid had opened his mouth one more time, I would have knocked him right through that wall."

"I thought they hired me to teach but all they really wanted was a guard."

"It's a good thing tomorrow's Saturday because if I had to face those kids one more day, they could take this job and shove it."

"What do they expect? I'm a teacher, not a psychologist."

These comments were overheard in a teachers' lounge in Michigan. They reflect not a callous, indifferent, poorly-trained group of teachers but rather, the frustrations of teaching the disadvantaged. The comments which the students in turn, make about their teachers are frequently not fit to print.

The result of this estrangement between disadvantaged students and teachers, however, are clear. Each year, almost one million children drop out of school. The largest number of these children are counted among the disadvantaged.

In short, we have failed as a society "to provide avenues for learning adult roles, for acquiring leadership skills, or some approved means by which youths' voice can influence a world in which they too must live" (Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, 1969). The following quotations, also taken from the report of the Joint Commission on Mental Health of Children, point out the depth of our failure.

This Nation, the richest of all world powers, has no unified national commitment to its children and youth. The claim that we are a child-centered society, that we look to our young as tomorrow's leaders, is a myth. Our words are made meaningless by our actions—by our lack of national, community, and personal investment in maintaining the healthy development of our young, by the minuscule amount of economic resources spent in developing our young, by our tendency to rely on a proliferation of simple, one-factor, short-term and inex-

pensive remedies and services. As a tragic consequence, we have in our midst millions of ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-educated and discontented youngsters . . .

This Nation, which looks to the family to nurture its young, gives no real help with child-rearing until a child is badly disturbed or disruptive to the community. The discontent, apathy, and violence today are a warning that society has not assumed its responsibility to insure an environment which will provide optimum care for its children. The family cannot be allowed to withstand alone the enormous pressures of an increasingly technological world. Within the community some mechanism must be created which will assume the responsibility for insuring the necessary supports for the child and the family.

Educators, and particularly teachers of the disadvantaged, must be in the forefront of the fight to develop new mechanisms and new techniques which will begin to salvage some of the one million youngsters who, each year, are leaving the schools to become troubled, and troublesome, adults.

Unfortunately, a simple recitation of the things we have not done as a society is rarely a sufficient stimulus to evoke corrective action. Also unfortunate is the fact that the more spectacular acts of violence involving the disadvantaged receive far more attention by both local and national news media than do the more subtle problems, i.e. the failure of the public school system and other socializing agencies to educate and train disadvantaged youth.

The result is that the Congress and the state legislatures appropriate millions of additional dollars for "safe street" programs while education programs for disadvantaged youth limp along with token increases. In the long run, the more subtle problems of education, although less conspicuous, may well prove to be more devastating to the American culture than the more spectacular acts of violence that are consistently brought to our attention (Ulrich, Surratt, and Wolfe, 1969).

Clearly, it is not overly speculative to suggest that an individual's low level of achievement in academic settings and dropping out prior to graduation from high school significantly increases the probability of becoming a welfare recipient or even of becoming one of the individuals who creates the headlines.

Despite the difficulties of generating additional financial support for schools and despite the lack of understanding displayed by the general public or public bodies regarding the importance of education programs for the disadvantaged, it is mandatory that we begin upgrading these programs now.

It is our contention that the average classroom teacher can, with proper training, begin immediately to initiate more effective educational strategies. Lack of a total supportive system can, of course, retard our efforts but significant advances in educating the disadvantaged can be made by implementing some relatively simple techniques which have already been tested and developed.

Based on experimental work involving all levels of students, our how-to suggestions cover the following three areas:

1. Use of behavior modification techniques (sometimes referred to as operant conditioning) to accelerate desirable academic behavior and diminish disruptive problem behavior.
2. Advantages of programmed instruction methods and materials versus more traditional teaching approaches.
3. Benefits to be gained through implementation of a pyramiding system of education.

Included with a discussion of these techniques are examples from applied settings demonstrating the use of these techniques and the results obtained.

Principles of Operant Conditioning

The fact that behavior has reasons has been demonstrated beyond any doubt. Behavioral scientists have shown with animals and with humans, both in the laboratory and in natural environments that behavior is affected by environmental factors. Behaviors followed by pleasant experiences will subsequently occur more often; conversely, if followed by unpleasant consequences, they will reoccur less often. Given that such a body of behavioral laws exist, the implications for satisfactorily modifying undesirable behaviors or developing desirable behaviors are far reaching.

Realizing then that our behaviors are to a great extent under the control of their consequences, it follows that a modification of those consequences would result in a modification of the behavior. This principle has been demonstrated with patients of mental institutions, retarded children, military personnel, elementary, high school and college students, as well as many other diverse populations (Ulrich, Stachnik, and Mabry, 1966; Ullmann and Krasner, 1966; Malott and Whaley, 1968). While some of the ideas and techniques used in such a process are not in keeping with traditional practices, the empirical data available demand that we do something to counter the inertial perpetuation of some traditional tactics in favor of newer methods which produce immediate and enduring results.

Let us consider the concept of motivation. Unfortunately, classroom teachers often tend to view motivation as something present or lacking inside the student. A more productive approach is to simply assume that all children are motivated and that our job is to find adequate rewards or reinforcers. In other words, we must remove motivation from inside the child and place it in the environment where it can be observed.

The key ramification of this new concept is that it destroys the rationalization that we fail to educate a child because "he doesn't want to learn."

Clearly, our schools must begin to arrange the school environment so that the disadvantaged child wants to learn. How is this done? First, the desired behaviors must be exactly specified. The problem, for example, may

be that the children talk too much. However, the desired behavior is not silence; it is appropriate conversation. Thus we must specify clearly what conversation we wish to diminish and what conversation we wish to increase. We must then attempt to identify variables which determine the desired or maladaptive behavior—remembering, of course, that the behaviors of students are natural phenomena and as such, enter into lawful, functional relationships with specifiable environmental variables.

Thus, we should approach academic training from the viewpoint that the teacher, as the behavioral engineer, and the program, as a system, are primarily responsible for what students learn. Each student, of course, comes to the school with a behavior repertoire that has a direct effect on the difficulty of our engineering task. Nevertheless, we must assume that we can succeed in our training efforts and that failures are due to methods—not learners. An analysis of these failures should specify not only the variables responsible for them but also the conditions necessary for remedy. We are already well aware of certain factors affecting the rate at which behavior is acquired. We know, for example, the importance of active participation on the part of the learner, of moving by successive approximations to the desired performance, and of immediate reinforcement at every step. There is little excuse today for the neglect of such variables in the implementation of any academic program. [Ulrich and Kent, 1968]

Reinforcement is particularly important when considering programs for disadvantaged youth. Achievement-oriented attitudes do not develop automatically; there must be some reward or payoff for behaviors that adults deem desirable. All organisms (both higher and lower) respond appropriately to shaping when proper incentives are provided.

At this point, a very important difference distinguishing middle-income parents from low-income or poverty parents is encountered. Green and Stachnik (1968) explain this difference as follows:

Middle-class parents begin shaping or modifying behavior of their children early in life by applying sanctions to inappropriate behavior and rewarding behavior they regard as acceptable. While many low-income parents respect or envy educational achievement, they often lack the skills necessary to inculcate such a value system in their children.

Middle-income children have always been handsomely rewarded for their achievement. It is a great educational myth that middle-class children somehow possess "intrinsic motivation" or that they acquire an "internal desire" to perform well on academic tasks apart from societal reinforcers. Middle-class children do not initially "learn for learning's sake": they exert effort in school because their parents arrange appropriate consequences. By the time they enroll in school they have had a sustained reinforcement history with respect to "doing well."

The challenge, then, so long as the schools accept and promote middle-class values, is to find appropriate ways of reinforcing middle-class behavior in disadvantaged children.

The following case studies, abstracted from earlier papers, are examples of numerous studies conducted by ourselves and our colleagues. They are

included to indicate the types of reinforcement that are effective and also the types of problem behavior or learning behavior that can be dealt with in the classroom setting (Ulrich, Wolfe, and Bluhm, 1968; Surratt, Ulrich and Hawkins, 1969; Ulrich, Wolfe and Surratt 1969).

Case A. "It would not be surprising to see a visitor at Indian Lake Elementary School in Vicksburg, Michigan do a 'double take' at what he might find: an eight-year-old singing 'Moon River' on a public address system to an empty gymnasium or a classmate running an adding machine in the school office, racing slot cars in the hall, or chasing an adult across the playground. These events would be atypical in most schools, but at Indian Lake they are an integral part of the scene. They are encouraged by the school administration and teachers since they constitute some of the reward activities earned by students for school achievement and improved social behavior" (Ulrich, Wolfe and Surratt, 1969).

The project, which began in 1967, investigated the possibility of dealing with problem behavior and poor academic skills in the classroom. Basically, a remedial action consisted of applying various principles of behavior to an indicated problem. The unusual rewards cited above proved to be key factors in modifying the problem behaviors.

Initially, in-service training courses for teachers which concentrated on behavior principles and modification techniques were conducted by the senior author. The in-service education laid the groundwork for dealing systematically and pragmatically with classroom behavior problems. When it became apparent to the teacher that a problem behavior was developing in a child, the problem was discussed with project personnel and an outline of the procedure to be used with that specific behavior was developed. A team of teachers and psychology student project assistants then began work on the problem.

The success of our methods is in part reflected by referrals for specialized help. In the year prior to initiation of the program, teachers referred six children to a child guidance clinic, one to family services, and twenty-four to the school district's social worker. During the first year of the program, no children were referred to outside agencies and only fourteen were referred to the social worker.

The school social worker further reports that present referrals are more appropriate to her function. Referrals concerning academic and behavior problems have been virtually eliminated, thus making it possible for her to devote more time to cases involving family problems, child neglect, and delinquency.

Both teachers and principal have indicated that by employing behavior modification techniques, they have more time to devote specifically to teaching since less time is consumed in disciplinary tasks.

The significance of this program does not lie in the fact that behavior can be modified in the school setting, but rather that the teacher, with the help of college student assistants, can be effectively trained to modify be-

behavior. In this sense, teachers become therapists. In addition, the therapy is carried out at the time the problem behavior is initially identified within the school setting which is, perhaps, maintaining that very problem.

Case B. This project in a fourth grade classroom effectively dealt with problems of excessive noise. Sound intensity was measured with a meter throughout the experiment. After a baseline was established, in which sound intensity averaged between 50 and 55 decibels, a timer was set for ten minutes during which time the children were to be quiet.

At the end of each ten-minute period, a buzzer would ring signaling two minutes free time during which the students could talk or do as they wished. If, however, the class became too noisy at any time during the ten-minute period, a student assistant would blow a whistle and the timer was reset so that another ten minutes of quiet was required and the two-minute free time period was postponed.

Excessive sound was virtually eliminated by this technique with the average sound intensity dropping to 38-39 decibels. Related behaviors such as students fighting and being out of their seats were also decreased (Schmidt and Ulrich, 1969).

Case C. In this example, a fifth-grader was instrumental in modifying the behaviors of four first-grade students, who had been identified as poor students and who could not concentrate on their assignments. The older student observed the four first-graders and recorded their behaviors on a console which he operated. The first phase involved recording the time each child spend studying during a twenty-minute study period. When any one of the four was engaged in the assigned activity, the fifth-grader flipped the student's switch which operated a time totalizer for that student; when he engaged in any other activity the switch was turned off. During these baseline sessions, each child averaged approximately ten minutes study time out of a possible twenty minutes.

During the second phase of the study a light was placed on each student's desk. These lights were connected to their respective time totalizers so that when the timers were operating, the lights were also. In other words, when a particular child was studying, his light went on. The children were then told that if they could keep their lights on for 19 of the 20 minutes, they would receive a reward.

The rewards varied from five minutes in the gym or on the playground to helping the janitor sweep the halls. During this phase of the experiment, they studied for an average of 19.5 out of a possible 20 minutes. After termination of the study, the experimenter returned to observe and record the long-range effects of the procedures. Observations via closed circuit television revealed that the same four students that previously were studying for 10 out of 20 minutes were now studying 17 out of 20 minutes. Also of importance was the more casual report by the classroom teacher who indicated that when the students were studying more, they also performed better academically (Surratt, Ulrich and Hawkins, 1969).

Programmed Instruction

Any teacher of disadvantaged children (or advantaged children for that matter) can recall vividly how his teaching honeymoon ended. The story goes something like this. After repeated confrontations with student X, the beginning teacher holds the errant student after class to discuss the undesirable behavior. He patiently points out the need for an education, the value of going on to college, and the necessity to make a living.

Amazingly, the teacher scores an impressive victory. Student X admits he's been way out of line, that he does, indeed, wish to become an educated person, that the teacher is quite right regarding the ultimate value of an education, and that from now on, he is going to be one of the model students in the entire school. The new teacher congratulates himself for his wisdom in handling the problem and makes a mental note to tell the other teachers how to perform similar miracles.

The following day, student X is more disruptive than on any previous occasion and the new teacher is finally forced to send him from the room.

The problem, of course, is that all theories of ultimate utility suffer from the same shortcoming, namely, they do not specify effective contingencies of reinforcement (Skinner, 1961). Having learned that delayed consequences are not as effective in controlling behavior as more immediate consequences, the teacher resorts to the more immediate consequences—usually aversive. The probability is very low that this aversive control will stimulate learning to any great extent; however, it might aid in keeping the students in their seats.

Unfortunately, when the teacher does use positive reinforcement, it is often delayed. Take, for example, the case of the elementary teacher who has assigned students to work on arithmetic exercises. He may walk up and down the aisle pausing here and there with individual children. However, many minutes may intervene between a given response by the child and the teacher's reinforcement.

In many other cases, the teacher may collect papers which are not returned until the next day or the next week. Again, the child is involved in a situation in which there are virtually no immediate, positive consequences for his behavior.

Another problem in many schools is the lack of a skillful program which moves the child through a series of progressive approximations to the final complex behavior. Such a program requires, of course, that the child be reinforced at each step of the way. The teacher, however, cannot usually deal with each pupil's responses on an immediate individual basis. The result is that a given student may receive very strong reinforcement for accomplishment one, no reinforcement for accomplishment two, moderate reinforcement for accomplishment three, and so on.

Perhaps the most serious problem to be considered is the relative infrequency of reinforcement. If one considers the situation in the average

classroom with 25, 30, or even more children, each child may be reinforced only once in an hour period or perhaps not even that frequently. For the elementary student just beginning to learn a complex new set of behaviors, this minuscule amount of reinforcement can hardly be considered sufficient.

Programmed instruction materials are designed to overcome some of these deficiencies. They are not a panacea (Winsberg, 1969)and no one argues that programmed instruction materials can be completely substituted for other teaching methods. However, they can help to overcome some of the problems discussed in preceding paragraphs.

For those not familiar with programmed instruction, some definitions pertinent to an understanding of it may be helpful. A frequently cited definition states that an instructional program "is a vehicle which generates an essentially reproducible sequence of instructional events and accepts responsibility for efficiently accomplishing a specified change from a given range of initial completeness or behavioral tendencies" (Lumsdaine, 1965).

The key words in this definition are reproducibility, sequence, and efficiency. Among the primary features of programmed instruction are the following:

1. Reinforcement for the right answer is immediate.

2. The child may work at his own pace, completing as many problems as possible. If absent from class, the student simply picks up where he left off.

3. Because each child proceeds at his own pace, a teacher can more effectively supervise a large class.

4. The material presented is sequenced in such a way that one problem depends upon the answer to the preceding problem, i.e. the student can efficiently progress to an eventually complex repertoire.

5. Materials can be designed in such a way that the error rate is very low, i.e. 10 percent or less (Holland, 1965).

6. Many programs contain a wide range of examples for full comprehension.

Once devised, an instructional program may be automated for use on a multitude of machines or presented in booklet form. In the former case, the machine reinforces the student by informing him that the answer to a particular question is correct. In the latter case, the student makes a response and then turns the page or moves a slider to discover if he is correct.

At this point, readers may object that our suggestions are really beyond their control, that their school district does not have the money for automated teaching devices. Thus, we are wasting time on a financial or administrative rather than a teaching problem. Part of this argument may be true. Few teachers of disadvantaged children have access to the larger, computer-assisted instruction devices such as those currently in use at Stanford, Pittsburgh, and Harvard (Atkinson and Housen, 1966).

However, teachers frequently can exert influence in choosing texts for

Pyramiding Education

It is our contention that programs of instruction should pyramid education. In other words, persons at every step in the educational pyramid —from distinguished professor to kindergarten child—should have responsibility for transmitting knowledge (Ulrich and Kent, 1968). The present two-step system with teachers on the top and students on the bottom is a luxury we can no longer afford, particularly if we are to begin a concentrated effort to provide adequate education for the disadvantaged.

Our current overcrowded and understaffed school situation is too well known to require additional comment here. However, the fact that many of the schools in the nation have 30, 40, or even 50 students per teacher is dramatic proof that new teaching resources must be developed. The pyramiding approach thus deserves serious consideration.

We are attempting to initiate at Western Michigan University a system whereby senior professors teach graduate students, graduate students teach advanced undergraduates, and the advanced undergraduates teach beginning undergraduates. We envision that eventually, kindergarten children would have teaching tasks in the nursery school.

This is not to say that the world's teachers would be out of work. In the case of the universities, the faculty member's position would essentially remain unchanged. In addition, their services would be supplemented by the services of students at all levels; teaching would not be restricted simply to the faculty and a few teaching fellows. In the primary and secondary schools, the teachers would also continue to teach a regular schedule but would enlist the assistance of advanced students.

The advantages of such an approach are varied. First, the teacher would have time to work with smaller groups of students. Theoretically, this could prove to be reinforcing to the teacher (since he might actually teach instead of simply maintaining classroom control) and reinforcing to the student (since he is receiving individual attention).

While the teacher was meeting with a select group of his students, the other students could meet with an advanced student or students. Thus, all students would be receiving individual attention. The advanced students would be reinforced by having the younger students look up to them and would also be stimulated to complete their own academic work since they would have an immediate, practical application.

A recent attempt to introduce operant conditioning techniques into early education programs for a culturally disadvantaged population in Kalamazoo, Michigan demonstrates the pyramiding technique.

The proposal included (1) preschool training center for culturally restricted children which was directed toward enabling such children to learn many culturally acceptable school behaviors and (2) tutorial classes for children presently in public schools who are functioning at a level significantly lower than the grade level in which they are enrolled.

Once this program was designed and funded, it became apparent that individuals from the black community would be needed to make the program work. The environment which produced a need for such programs also produced a demand for black persons in positions of responsibility. That same environment also produced an insufficient number of black leaders to meet this demand.

Assuming that great potential lies in the younger segment of our population, whether black or white, an in-service training program for high school students was devised. This program, described earlier in terms of its programmed structure, was such an attempt toward shaping new black leaders.

The senior author established the course and provided overall direction. An advanced undergraduate and two intermediate level undergraduates served as the teachers of the high school students. The students who were initially enrolled were identified by other high school students who had strong interest in changing conditions in the black community.

The program had two parts. Part I was a series of ten two-hour weekly class meetings in which a maximum of $5 was given for successful completion of various class activities. Meetings of the class were not always devoted to discussing the laws of behavior. Much discussion involved the issues of whether or not behavior could be controlled or how learning a few facts could possibly relate to "real" cultural change. Although such problems were entertained by the college level teachers, the emphasis was still placed on problem solving and learning methods to effect change.

Part II involved another ten-week class series coupled with on-the-job training. The classes were still money-contingent but more often lecturers from the Western Michigan University Psychology staff were invited to discuss specialized issues.

On-the-job training was begun in two different settings. This was made possible through the high school's work-study program which allows students to go out into the community to work while ensuring the receipt of academic credits necessary for graduation. The choice of whether or not students wanted to work and where they wanted to work was left up to them. They were also told that they could change their minds at any time.

Two of the students chose to stay at the Behavior Research Laboratory (where the original classes were held) and two students chose to work at a Child Development Center, located in a nearby elementary school. Jobs of the students who chose to stay in the laboratory varied between typing, graphing for publication, data analysis, and library research. Thereafter they became involved in a project dealing with children and home management. Presently they are continuing such work in the laboratory, assisting in another high school class and are enrolled in the university.

The activities of the students who chose to work in the Child Development Center were related to their work as teacher aides. Both of these high school students have now completed projects in behavior modification

in which the verbal behavior of pre-school children was increased. One of these high school students is considered to be particularly outstanding and has remained in the center as an integral part of the staff and is concurrently working toward a college degree.

This project is a pilot and only a small part of a program being developed in the Kalamazoo area. The approach toward cultural change and innovation based on the education and re-education of the community as a whole is necessary and must begin at some level. The technology used in affecting their community environment is based on the scientific analysis of behavior. Again, the technique is essentially one of pyramiding education: the well advanced teaching the less advanced and so on. Our experience has shown the approach to be effective while making greater use of student personnel than in other traditional training programs.

Conclusions

The task facing the teacher of disadvantaged children is an enormous one. It is also frustrating, exciting, discouraging, challenging, and rewarding. Our hope in writing this paper is that we might somehow contribute to the rewarding aspects of the job and, hopefully, be of some assistance in diminishing the discouraging aspects.

We do not claim to have all the answers. Indeed, we are a long way from reaching our goal of a highly-effective, scientifically-based technology of education. However, one point seems abundantly clear. The responsibility for failure to learn has been placed on the child rather than on his educational environment far too long.

The facts show that behavior is governed by its consequences, and consequences—at least for children—are largely determined by the adults in their environment. Thus, we must abandon the notion that Johnnie doesn't want to learn and begin to accept the fact that we have not provided him with sufficient reinforcement to help him want to learn.

This is not to suggest that schools or teachers should accept all the blame for educational failures. However, the schools are clearly a party to this sad state of affairs and must accept partial responsibility. The child does not become a drop-out overnight; on the contrary, it takes the schools a good number of years to produce one. To put it another way, the one million children who will drop out of school this year have a combined total of eight to ten million years of experience with our school system—and they have voted against us. They have decided that schools, as they exist today, are not worth the trouble.

We hope that the suggestions incorporated in this paper will contribute to a reversal of this trend. We have suggested, first of all, that an understanding of behavior modification principles can help the teacher of disadvantaged children. Increasingly precise behavioral description and reliance on

real behavioral effects have made inroads into educational and therapeutic areas often marked by imprecise observation and erroneous interpretation.

Secondly, it has been suggested that programmed instruction materials, either automated or in booklet form, have very reinforcing qualities which may be of great value in teaching disadvantaged children. Teachers who are unfamiliar with these materials should begin to explore and test the various instructional programs available today.

Finally, we have suggested that the two-level, teacher-student system of today overlooks the tremendous teaching resource available in other students. The time has come when we should devote serious attention to proposals for educational pyramids in which advanced students would take an active part in teaching younger students.

All of these suggestions can be implemented today. They do not require the outlay of additional billions of dollars, the creation of new levels of administration, or the assignment of additional duties to our present teaching staffs. They do require, however, a willingness to reexamine some of our traditional ideas about teaching and to experiment with some of the new.

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⚙ Operant Conditioning in the Public Schools

ROGER ULRICH, MARSHALL WOLFE,
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Basic principles of behavior discovered by psychologists in experimental animal laboratories have been lately applied more systematically to human situations (Ulrich, Stachnik, and Mabry, 1966; Ullmann and Krasner, 1965; Bijou and Baer, 1967; Ulrich, 1968). Frequently these attempts at applied behavioral analysis fall under the heading of operant conditioning (Skinner, 1938).

Properly speaking, the term operant conditioning refers to a *process* in which behavior is modified by its consequences. However, over the years, the term has come to refer to an entire psychological *approach*, namely the experimental analysis of behavior. Since readers may be quick to point out that the phenomenon of behavior being controlled by its consequences is hardly new, one further note of explanation should be added. The operant conditioning procedures to which this paper alludes grew out of an objective science that was restricted to the study of factors that can be observed, measured, and reproduced. Present day operant technology is thus more scientifically based than were the earlier more casual observations and use of behavioral consequences.

The initial attempts at generating an operant technology involved replicating the basic animal laboratory studies with humans. These studies were typically conducted in mental institutions (Fuller, 1949; Lindsley, 1959; Hutchinson and Azrin, 1961). However, following the work of Ayllon and Michael (1959), greater efforts were made to apply some of these principles to actual ward problems in a variety of institutions concerned with behavioral deficiencies. Although these efforts proved extremely fruitful, they were used almost exclusively to treat existing behavioral disorders and were not concerned with the early development of normal behavior.

The value of preventing behavioral problems as opposed to treating them only after the problem is well established seems apparent. The logical time to begin preventing behavioral problems is at birth and the logical institution to direct such efforts would appear in the long run to be the public schools. This paper reports on our efforts to introduce scientific assumptions and a science-based technology in the public school setting, both for the purpose of treating present behavior problems and for preventing

future problems. It is concerned not only with the problems presently facing us but the long range needs as well.

Initial Efforts and Problems

The fact that a more scientifically oriented approach to education and educational research is presently being stressed in a number of schools which are in the service area of the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District deserves some preliminary comments.

In spite of what might have been expected following the initial efforts of our joint ancestor Thorndike, psychology, for one reason or another, has not sufficiently involved itself with the behavioral problems faced by educators. Unfortunately, the degree of psychology's noninvolvement has at times, seemed to border on an aloofness which makes our belated efforts to "re-enter" education suspect. Getting permission to try new psychological approaches in a public school is often the most difficult part of the experiment.

During the fall of 1965, the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District was seeking a certified consulting psychologist who would test children suspected of being either emotionally disturbed or mentally retarded in order that the children could be officially certified for placement in special education classrooms.[2] The senior author was contacted and consented to serve as a consultant for the District. However, it was agreed at the time that the major role of the consultant would not be that of a diagnostician; he would serve instead as a resource person who would suggest problem-solving methods to the persons most closely associated with school problems, i.e. the classroom teachers, the principals, the superintendents, school boards, special education people, etc.

The work began, however, with visits to the classrooms to observe children who had been referred by classroom teachers to principals and special education personnel. It was immediately apparent from all these visits that very little additional information would be provided by further testing. In all cases, the best method of obtaining information on the problem was actual observation of the child in the classroom, plus the records and remarks of the teacher. In some cases a strategy evolved to remove the child from the classroom since his behavior was so disruptive that the other children were not receiving the benefit of a good education. In these cases it was also typical for the teacher to be so dissatisfied with the child that there was no real indication that any benefit would be derived from permitting the child to continue in that environment, for either the teacher or the child. Thus, decisions of whether to certify children for special education classrooms were dependent upon factors such as these instead of long interviews between the child and the consulting psychologist or tests such as the TAT or the Rorschach. In numerous instances, however, it was suggested to

day and perhaps read to her. If it was not met, she was not to be allowed to see the remedial reading teacher. It was expected that gradually we would require slight increases in the amount of reading that the child had to demonstrate before receiving the social reinforcement afforded by the contact with the remedial reading teacher. Although this approach seemed agreeable to the classroom teacher, it did not appeal to the reading expert. In addition to this lack of enthusiasm on the part of the remedial reading teacher, there appeared to be some problems in terms of whether or not it would be allowed at higher administrative levels.

It was this and numerous other incidents which led to an even more intense re-evaluation of the proper role for a public school consulting psychologist with a bias for experimentation. It was apparent that even if a teacher agreed that it was desirable to try something different, it would frequently not be allowed. Furthermore, specialists often seemed less than enthusiastic about giving advice to teachers which might make the teacher more expert in the special area. For these reasons, still greater efforts were made to effect change through those in control of policy, i.e. principals, superintendents, and school boards.

Although these efforts were helpful it was still felt that other alternatives had to be explored concurrently in order to come to grips with public school behavioral problems. Thus, in addition to the meetings with the administrators there were weekly meetings of the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District Special Education staff. This group consisted of a number of school social workers, diagnosticians, a Type C consultant for the mentally handicapped, some remedial reading teachers, and some graduate and undergraduate students from Western Michigan University. Various techniques which might be employed to change maladaptive classroom behavior were discussed and as a result, some of the college students actually went to work in the classrooms with problem children. The side effects of their work, however, were sometimes more detrimental than useful. It appeared that working in a classroom with a teacher required much more preliminary work than had been accomplished to date. The idea of reinforcing children with material objects was not readily acceptable and although help was requested and the use of college students as classroom behavior modification assistants had been authorized, they were frequently looked upon as intruders. Teachers were often skeptical as were the principals. Data were needed. In order to acquire data, however, it was decided that accommodations had to be established which would permit an atmosphere where new things could be tried. It was felt that this experimental setting should be in the community where efforts to effect change were going on. One alternative appeared to be the most reasonable. A public school had to be identified which would allow a great deal of flexibility for new approaches. The identification of such a school came about through indirect means during the second year of the program.

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Operant Research in a Public School

On a number of occasions, talks were given to local teachers who showed much enthusiasm for the data from various applied studies using operant techniques. A single talk, however, was not sufficient for generating actual practice of the methods described. The alternative seemed to be the establishment of a long-term in-service training course in a specific school.

During the Fall of 1966, plans for such a course were formulated. Carol Morlan, a school social worker in the Vicksburg School District, worked out the details and the course was initiated at the Indian Lake Elementary School. Enrolled in this course were the principal plus all the teachers in the school, the school nurse, a principal from another school, the music teacher (who handles all the schools in the Vicksburg area), and a Type A teacher of the mentally handicapped. The course was offered for graduate credit through the Office of Continuing Education at Western Michigan University.

Its content consisted of a very basic introduction to the principles of operant conditioning and it was oriented to problems that the teachers faced daily. The major portion of the class was laboratory work, the laboratory being the teacher's own classroom. The discussion portion of the class took place approximately once a week. The laboratory required work with specific problems that were identified in the weekly lecture-discussion section of the class. Initial classes were concerned with the basic principles of reinforcement, punishment, stimulus control and motivation. Some discussion time was also devoted to how emotional behavior can be generated and modified in terms of respondent conditioning, i.e. the classical Pavlovian method. Very quickly the majority of discussions revolved around the teacher's everyday problems and how consequences of behavior could be used to modify the future probability of that behavior. In short, we discussed at length how rewards could affect the future probability that a child would engage in that task again. As often is the case, there was initially some hostility towards the notion that children should be reinforced for making responses indicative of learning.

The following exchange between the senior author, who taught the course, and one of the teachers exemplifies this point:

DR. ULRICH: All right. Let's look at the problem that Mrs. Jones is experiencing in teaching Billy to write numbers. Again, let's remember that one of the first things we want to do is to identify as exactly as possible the desired response. In this case let's say we want Billy to write the numbers from one to ten correctly. The question is: how do we get him to do it? One possibility, of course, is to reinforce him when he picks up the pencil or when he starts writing a number by telling him that that was good. When he responds, for example writing 1 or 2 or 3 numbers correctly, we might give him something for it such as points which can be exchanged for extra

time in the gymnasium, or we might even give him some kind of token that he can exchange for the privilege of using a tape recorder. Or we could give him money in exchange for his tokens and call it a scholarship payment like they do in college.

TEACHER: Dr. Ulrich, that's just bribing him to get him to do something he should simply do because it's right. Everybody has to be able to write numbers someday. So you shouldn't have to bribe students to get them to do this.

DR. ULRICH: Well, it's highly likely that he is going to have to write numbers. However, one of the problems with Billy seems to be that he doesn't want to and Mrs. Jones' problem is how to get him to want to, or more important, to actually do it. Apparently the only way that we know that he wants to do something is by observing him doing it. He is not doing it now and one alternative which might work toward getting him to do it is to offer some form of a reward.

TEACHER: But you said that possibly we could give him money or something for making his numbers. People shouldn't always expect to get something for the things they do. For one thing, this might lead to bad habits later on, such as getting people to do things they shouldn't, just for money.

DR. ULRICH: That's probably true in terms of getting people to do things for money that society says in general they shouldn't receive money for doing. And, in a sense, that's what bribery is. But is that what we're doing here? Why don't you get that dictionary and let's see what it says bribery really means.

TEACHER: Okay, the dictionary says that bribe means "any gift or emolument, used corruptly to influence public or official action, anything that seduces or allures, an allurement. Also any valuable consideration given or promised for corrupt behavior in the performance of official or public duties."

DR. ULRICH: It's quite common for people to refer to reinforcement as bribing, especially when we use it with children. According to the dictionary definition, however, it doesn't seem to fit. It wouldn't seem that our efforts to get Billy to write his numbers better is really an example of trying to get him to do something illegal or something which goes against what is generally looked upon as being acceptable by our culture. Besides, Billy isn't a public official. Actually, *writing numbers* seems to be a good thing to be able to do and when you do good things, you often get rewarded for them.

TEACHER: Why do we always have to get something for something? Why don't we learn to do things just because we like to do them? Why is it we always have to be given materialistic kinds of things for almost everything we do?

DR. ULRICH: I don't know. Why is that? Remember Thorndike's law of effect and Skinner's principles of positive reinforcement and punishment? In a sense those laws of behavior for animals are just that: laws of behavior. They hold true just like the law of gravity. But the law of gravity is some-

thing we don't spend an awful lot of time feeling distressed over. Why, then do we keep getting upset about the law of reinforcement? Is it possible that's just the way things are and there's really nothing wrong with it? People just happen to be built that way, you and myself included.

Let's bring the example a little closer to home. Suppose superintendents and college presidents were analogous to teachers and we were in the position of the student. We are the Billys, and the presidents and superintendents are the Mrs. Joneses. They say to you and me, "I want you to make this response during the rest of the year. I want you to come to school every day to teach and I want you to do it just because it is a good thing to do and because you should want to do it. I am not going to give you anything for it because you should want to do it. I am not going to give you anything for it because that would be bribing you, and I want to protect you from this evil. I will expect you here Monday morning making certain responses (which, by the way, may even involve writing a few numbers), but you will not, of course, be bribed. You will keep working, i.e. responding for the rest of the year, because you want to do the right thing." What would you say?

TEACHER: I'd quit, of course, but it still doesn't seem like it's exactly the same thing.

DR. ULRICH: Maybe you're right. What's the difference?

TEACHER: Well, it's hard to say. It seems like we get children involved too soon with having to get money and other things so they will work. Why must we do that?

DR. ULRICH: I don't know why; but the principles of behavior teach us that's just the way things are. Here again, the only problem might be that we are taught to think that it is wrong to give something to someone for doing something we want. We especially seem to think it is wrong in the case of very young children. But, take a young child who is a long way off from numbers or reading or writing or anything of that sort really paying off for him. We say to that child: do it because someday way off in the future it's going to be good for you, I'm afraid, oftentimes even we don't even have the courtesy or take the time to explain that much, even though I doubt that it does much good. Indeed, at the very time when it is most crucial that children receive rewards for what they do, we seem least likely to give them rewards. A young child cannot see the long-range value of writing numbers, however, a sweet or a fruitloop or a penny, with which he knows he can buy something he likes, might do the trick and make him very happy to keep writing his numbers. Since it is numbers that we want him to write, and since if we look around we can quite often find something that he likes that will keep him writing numbers, why in the world should we hesitate to do it?

TEACHER: Well, one reason for not doing it, at least really often, is that he will always expect it.

DR. ULRICH: You mean like some people we both know who expect their checks at the end of every month?

TEACHER: Dr. Ulrich, you're impossible! We could still give him reinforcement after he does what we want without using things. Why does it have to be money, tokens, fruitloops, and things like that? Why can't we just use a smile or something like that? Why can't that work?

DR. ULRICH: It does. I've watched you in your class and I've watched you when a child makes a response you like. You reinforce him whether you know it or not. You smile and unlike many teachers, you sometimes even jump happily into the air. You really let him know that you like what he did. You give him a great deal of social reinforcement and even that, in one sense, is a material event. He can see and hear you, and it's very much like a penny being put into his hand. It might be considered that both the penny and your smile are what we have referred to in the past as conditioned reinforcers.

Conditioned reinforcers are very powerful for maintaining behavior, but again, somewhere along the line it is more than likely that they have to be related to some kind of primary reinforcement. A lot of the conditioned reinforcers we use in school, or in any other place, were first established by pairing them with primary reinforcements. A penny can reinforce because it can get you a lot of other things that you like. A smile is pretty much the same way. Asking one's father for the car when he's smiling probably pays off more often than asking him for the car when he's just sneezed and he's gruffly snarling and frowning about having had a bad day at the office.

As the course progressed, this type of discussion became less frequent and the majority of the time was spent on what the pupils should do and how we could structure the school environment to get them to do it, i.e. responses and methods for accomplishing these. It soon became apparent that one of the major problems in doing research in a classroom was the large number of students involved. While the teacher was trying to keep a record of some problem behavior, there was still the rest of the class to consider. At this stage it was decided that additional help was needed.

Consequently, a number of graduate and undergraduate students were introduced into the program at Indian Lake as assistants to the teachers. In most cases the students received class credit for their activities although others did not and still remained very interested and involved. How was their behavior maintained? It should be pointed out that everyone was careful to see that a good working relationship between the student and the classroom teacher evolved. We expected the college students to actually help the teachers solve some specific problems and to do it in a way that at no time threatened the teacher's control of the classroom. It later proved to be the case that this relationship was mutually beneficial to both the teachers and the student assistants. Assistants had an opportunity to learn first hand about some problems of applied research and teaching, and the

teachers received assistance as well as new information. We benefited because we were able to determine if the concepts discussed in the in-service training class actually worked.

Projects and Results

The following projects are examples of numerous studies that were conducted at the Indian Lake Elementary School and are included to give the reader some idea of the various types of problem behavior that can be dealt with in the classroom setting. In every case, these problems involved students who would have ordinarily been referred to outside agencies for treatment.

In one such project, a student assistant, Carl DeGraaf, worked with the kindergarten teacher, Irma Sell, to help a boy who constantly exhibited disruptive behaviors. These behaviors included crawling under furniture, throwing objects, attacking others, talking of self-destruction, and seeking constant attention. The teacher soon eliminated the troublesome behavior by giving him attention when he was involved in desirable behavior and ignoring him when he was not, just as we had suggested a year earlier to another teacher in relation to the reading problem. With the background provided by the in-school service course, this teacher was willing to attempt it within a system which now permitted experimentation, whereas previously there had been difficulties. After the elimination of the undesirable behavior, a procedure was instituted in which troublesome behavior was reinforced and appropriate behavior was ignored. The troublesome behavior soon occurred again indicating that attention was the crucial variable. The problem behavior was, however, finally eliminated by allowing the child to leave the room to play games with the experimenter on days when he was "good," i.e. did not engage in any of the specified problem behaviors.

reinforcers such as candy or privileges. Here again a system of reinforcement for desirable behavior was found to be generally effective.

The third-grade teacher, Mrs. Charlene Saunders, introduced a similar system using points to reinforce four "non-achiever" students who turned in little or no work. The results were very noteworthy in that two students improved greatly and two did not. It was discovered in the case of the two students who did not improve that the points the teacher was using as reinforcers in actuality were not reinforcing, and thus emphasized again the importance of using reinforcers that children actually like. Too often teachers try a reward and find that it is short lived in producing desirable behavior. Unfortunately, they conclude that reinforcement doesn't work when, in fact, they have errored in assuming that they had found an effective reinforcer.

In another study conducted by Mr. Paul Surratt, a fifth-grader was instrumental in modifying the behaviors of four first-grade students, who had been identified as poor students, and who could not concentrate on their assignments. The fifth-grader observed the four children and recorded their behaviors on a console which he operated. The first phase of the study involved recording the amount of time each of the four children spent studying out of a twenty-minute study period. When any one of the four was engaged in the assigned activity, the fifth-grader flipped the student's switch which in turn operated a time totalizer for that student; when he engaged in any other activity the switch was turned off. During these baseline sessions, each child averaged approximately 10 minutes study time out of a possible 20 minutes. The second phase of the study consisted of placing a light on each of the student's desks. These lights were connected to their respective time totalizers in a manner such that when the timers were operating, so were the lights. In other words, when a particular child engaged in studying, a light on his desk lighted up and when he stopped studying, it went out. The children were then told that if they could keep their lights on for 19 of the 20 minutes, they would receive a reward. The rewards varied from five minutes in the gym or on the playground to helping the janitor sweep the halls. During this phase of the experiment, they studied for an average of 19.5 out of a possible 20 minutes. A number of extinction and reversal procedures were then employed to assure that their studying was, in fact, a result of their consequences. After the termination of the study, the experimenter returned to observe and record the long-range effects of the procedures. Observations via closed circuit television revealed that the same four students that previously were studying for 10 out of 20 minutes were now studying 17 out of 20 minutes. This high level of studying was incompatible with the previous maladaptive behaviors which once labeled these as problem children.

Judy Berghuis, the first grade teacher, also dealt with disruptive class problems during reading groups. She listed tasks to be done and gave points which could be used for extra library or recess time or for material reinforcers such as candy and gum.

Although in some cases, problems generated by limited classroom control made it impossible to be completely confident that results could always be replicated, the general effect was positive. Teachers were becoming acquainted with experimental techniques which provided them with new information. In one sense it may be argued that most teachers are constantly experimenting. By definition an experiment is "an act or operation carried out under controlled conditions in order to discover an unknown effect or law, to test or establish a hypothesis, or to illustrate a known law."

The exact methods of how to best educate children is still in doubt and although teachers try different approaches, efforts very often do not lead to bonifide conclusions. The Indian Lake project was an attempt to change this. Before introducing a new variable which we predicted would produce change, we first determined the level at which the behavior was occurring. After this baseline was obtained, the experimental procedures were introduced. Using this technique, plus a reversal procedure in which the conditions existing during the baseline were reinstated, it became possible to see the exact effects.

Further Evaluation of the Program

During the course of the semester, interest began to pick up in relation to the Indian Lake project. We had on many occasions, of course, discussed exactly what we were doing at Indian Lake with Superintendent Ken Otis, the Vicksburg School Board, and a number of the parents of the Indian Lake children. Our project was explained in terms of an attempt to discover ways in which we could *prevent additional problems from occurring.* Through such efforts it was felt that the teachers themselves could become more expert in handling children so that problems could be dealt with immediately in the classroom by the teacher and would not have to be referred to specialists at a later time.

We talked constantly in terms of promoting behavioral development that prevented problems rather than solving them after they became well established. We explained that all behavior was approached as being a lawful product of the environment in which it developed and was maintained. A major point that was stressed was that each child should more often be treated as an individual and not constantly compared with classmates. Instead, we promoted the philosophy which supports the comparison of one's new behaviors against one's own past behavior.

For example, a child doing very poorly in reading is frequently compared to other children in the class. In such a case we emphasized the point that the child should be reinforced for any small success in reading rather than waiting to give reinforcement until he was a good reader like other children. This attitude was basic to the approach taken at Indian Lake. Our constant goal was to make school success, be it ever so slight, a very rewarding and enjoyable experience. Both teachers and student assistants spent

much time thinking of ways in which the school environment might be arranged so that many rewards could be made contingent upon desirable behavior. The importance of not reinforcing undesirable behavior was also pointed out. For example, children who seldom succeed academically, sometimes become discipline problems and manifest certain overt kinds of responses that procure much attention. Indeed, through social reinforcement we sometimes maintain the very behaviors we do not want. In short, our aim was the use of principles of reinforcement which prevented behavioral problems as well as solving those already existing.

The Formal In-School Treatment Program

During our third year, 1967–68, we were able to expand our program with the help of a grant from the Michigan Department of Mental Health which we obtained through the Kalamazoo County Mental Health Board (Ulrich and Wolfe, 1967). The interest of the Mental Health Department in our work was natural since most child guidance clinics are finding it increasingly difficult to keep abreast of the growing populations which they serve. Often the majority of referrals come from the school system. The course of events which brings a child to the clinic usually consists of a teacher calling upon the school social worker, counselor, or other special education professionals who may work with the child, his teacher, and the parents. Should this treatment plan prove ineffective or insufficient to answer the child's needs, referral is usually made to the clinic for evaluation, treatment, or consultation. This technique tends to be child-centered, with little opportunity for structured manipulation of the actual school setting, which may be a crucial variable in the problem. Also the Michigan Department of Mental Health conceives its function not only as an agency supporting the treatment of behavioral problems but supporting preventive efforts as well.

We continued to concentrate on making the teacher a "behavioral problems expert" using techniques similar to those discussed earlier. The big difference at Indian Lake was that the funding allowed us to pay certain high-achieving college students a small stipend for working with the program. This allowed us to work with more teachers on a more regular basis and initiate more projects.

In addition to now being able to bring more assistants into the Indian Lake project, the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District was also able to initiate additional in-service training courses at several other schools. Larry Ditto, the principal of Tobey Elementary School, had taken the first in-service training course at Indian Lake, and encouraged the establishment of a similar course at his school. This course was taught by Dr. David Lyon of Western Michigan University's Department of Psychology. Other courses were taught at Sunset Lake Elementary School and the Vicksburg Elementary School by Drs. Wade Hitzing and Howard Farris, also members of Western's Psychology Department.

A course was also conducted in the City of Kalamazoo at the Lincoln Elementary School by Dr. Scott Wood. There were two objectives for this course: (1) to introduce the teachers to the basic principles of behavior modification, which comprise the foundation of the modern field of behavior modification, and (2) to help the teachers adapt these principles into techniques for classroom behavior management that would have practical value for the elementary school teacher.

To help meet this latter objective, the teachers were each assigned to carry out a classroom behavior modification project. The project required that the teacher be able to objectively measure and record the behavior of either an individual or the class and then selectively modify that behavior toward some desired behavioral goal. These projects were conducted during the course of the semester and presented by the teachers to the in-service training class at the end of the term. These projects required that the teacher be familiar with standard behavior modification procedures, such as recording devices and graphing techniques. Also required was a considerable amount of creativity with respect to the application of the various principles of behavior.

It was our conviction that the behavioral principles being taught and applied in the school setting should also be presented to parents so that some of the same benefits being derived at school might be expanded into the home situation. We also felt that it would be beneficial for the parents to be introduced to the importance of using systematic reinforcement for desirable behavior. It would have been, of course, impossible to reach all of the parents. A beginning was made, however, by offering a course for the parents of Indian Lake children. Our goals for the parents' class were more than accomplished. About 20 parents met every two weeks for a period of over six months. We discussed problems typically found in the home setting and discussed possible solutions which fit with known principles of behavior and our program at school. Parents conducted studies at home and presented data at our class meetings. The fact that their efforts of handling problems with their own children were successful was, of course, gratifying, although to us the biggest benefit seemed to be the extent to which they managed to explain the concepts and school program to other parents. Subsequent meetings with the school board and other interested groups of parents further proved that information about our efforts was spreading.

All was not positive, however. Frances Smink, Principal of the Indian Lake School, was frequently confronted with questions from other parents about using reinforcement as "bribes" which were very similar to the questions originally posed in the in-service training course for teachers. Fortunately, these questions could now be answered effectively not only by Principal Smink, the Indian Lake teachers, and a handful of parents from the parents' class, but also by several school board members who, along with their wives, had been at several meetings and, in one case, in the parents' class. The success of our total in-school treatment soon became the function of numerous

variables all of which related to the success experienced by people who had watched closely the use of operant techniques for the modification of problem behavior.

During the summer of 1968, a pre-school program employing the techniques of operant methodology was instituted at the Indian Lake Elementary School in Vicksburg. This program was an expanded model of an earlier program conducted at the senior author's home. The move to Indian Lake was mainly due to the success of the former program which had come into great demand by many other parents who were supportive of this approach.

In the initial project the students were children ranging in age from two to four years. Basic skills in reading, writing, and math were taught. The program was designed in such a manner that the children considered learning a game and were most eager to participate. In addition to the regular teachers, the children often assumed some of the teaching responsibilities. For instance, it was not unusual to observe a four-year-old teaching a three-year-old some of the skills which the older child had learned earlier. At the same time the four-year-old was rewarding the three-year-old for learning, he was being rewarded by the adult teachers for teaching. Although the future will determine the ultimate effects of this program, certain results are already worth noting. For instance, a five-year-old boy finished the program reading at the sixth-grade level. Another child's Stanford-Binet I.Q. was advanced from 130 to 178. These are typical examples of some of the progress made by these children to date. It should be made most clear that these are not "innately" gifted children, but normal children whose environment was arranged in a manner that made learning both fun and efficient.

Although we have extensive data on the more immediate effects of our procedures (Surratt and Ulrich, 1968; Schmidt and Ulrich, 1968; Ulrich and Hunt, 1968; Arnett and Ulrich, 1968) a number of studies are planned to assess the long-range effects. For example, a count is being made of the number of students at Indian Lake (per semester) who were in the past referred and/or seen by outside agencies. Past referrals will then be compared with the number of children indicated as potential problems after the instigation of the in-school treatment program.

We also plan to compare the number of children treated at such agencies *after* the instigation of the in-service treatment program with the number treated *before* instigation of the program. Comparisons of the same nature are also planned between Indian Lake and other schools.

There are, of course, other measures of the success of our efforts, several of which are listed below: (1) other schools in the county began to request similar in-service training courses, (2) students at the University who need experience credits are more frequently requesting assignments in the public schools as assistants to the teachers, (3) a great deal of parental enthusiasm was evidenced, (4) a number of teachers continued to enroll in

our in-service training courses to learn more about effective behavior modification, and (5) in several cases teachers have decided to go on for advanced degrees in order to gain experience and credentials which will allow them authority to instigate and encourage similar procedures, perhaps from the position of principal or superintendent.

Cooperation Between Psychology and Education

As we mentioned at the beginning of this paper, psychology and education for a long time seemed to be far apart in areas where one might have expected closer cooperation. Experimental psychologists especially tended to remain aloof from the classroom despite the fact that many were experimenting with learning. Also, problematic is the fact that interests frequently became established which tended to promote competition as opposed to cooperation.

The conjunctive program between Western Michigan University and the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District, however, is an example of an effort to remedy this unhappy state of affairs. After the initial success of some of our early activities, it was decided to appoint a person with a background in operant conditioning to both the Departments of Psychology and Special Education at Western Michigan University and at the same time holding a full-time appointment with the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District.

The man appointed was Dr. Robert P. Hawkins who, following his appointment, carried the major portion of the responsibility for starting a new school adjustment program. This program involved the establishment of two classrooms for emotionally disturbed children, 6 to 11 years of age, from throughout the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District. Among Dr. Hawkins' responsibilities were the selection and screening of children, and maintaining initial transportation arrangements for the children, and maintaining communications with the various other school personnel involved.

With extensive help from several graduate students, Dr. Hawkins trained the adjustment program teaching staff in using behavioral principles to modify maladaptive behavior. This involved visiting the classrooms frequently, meeting regularly with the teaching staff, meeting with the graduate students and also maintaining communication with administrators (particularly building principals).

In addition, Dr. Hawkins supervised a program in which the operant conditioning techniques were applied in a regular first-grade classroom at Woodward Elementary School. With the help of the Broadcasting Service at Western Michigan University, he directed a movie of the techniques used at the Woodward School. This movie, as well as another made by the senior author concerning the experimental nursery project, have proved extremely helpful when presenting talks for teachers and administrators and in the extensive training of classroom teachers and parents.

As is true in all cases where new programs are involved, one of the most important and time-consuming functions that Dr. Hawkins performed was that of maintaining public relations. This involved not only answering mail inquiring about the experimental adjustment program and showing the program to guests, but also giving numerous local public speeches.

New Directions in Education

At this point it might be asked where we go from here. Certainly, more new ideas are needed. One idea that has received some interest is the establishment of an experimental apprentice teacher program. Unlike the current "student teachers," these apprentice teachers would serve in a regular classroom all four years instead of only one semester. Such a program as conceived at this stage would involve each teacher at a chosen school serving as a master teacher with a number of undergraduate and/or graduate assistants helping. These assistants would learn about methods of teaching and methods of exploring new and better ways of teaching. The teacher would become not only a teacher of a first grade classroom but also a resource person or teacher of future elementary teachers. The assistants would be expected to be on the job for a specified number of hours each week (10–15) for which they would receive from 5 to 6 hours of university credit, the grade being determined by the classroom teacher. Children in these classrooms would have the benefit of more individualized attention.

Other suggested strategies involve more effort being expended at the pre-school level. Numerous studies have indicated that many problems that children face later in their school careers get started very early. Thus, it is important that we attend more carefully to pre-nursery, nursery, and kindergarten levels in preparing children for first grade. For example, we should be teaching the children how to better attend to directions. Many data are available which demonstrate that appropriate academic and social behavior can be established much earlier than is usually anticipated. It is our contention that public school education should commence much earlier. We suggest that we begin immediately to move toward the goal of starting public school education in formal classroom settings with two-year-olds. Indeed an educational program (supported by the public schools) for all parents with new born infants would eventually be desirable.

Indeed, funds have already been made available through the Michigan Department of Mental Health for research with pre-school children from socioeconomically deprived areas in Kalamazoo (Ulrich and Surratt, 1968). Early education programs of the type supported by this grant should eventually be established for all children.

Another important area which needs further research is the use of children to teach other children. For example, public schools might use older children to teach kindergarten children specific tasks or to correct already existing behavioral problems. Indeed, several of our projects at Indian Lake

dramatically demonstrate the effectiveness of just such an approach (Surratt and Ulrich, 1968).

We are also exploring possible ways in which high school students could be given training in the principles of behavior and education so that it might benefit their own training and also be used by them to teach younger students. Through more in-service training courses for high school and elementary teachers and students, it is hoped that a program might develop in which we can explore the actual pyramiding and expanding of education not only from within the schools, but throughout the community. One aspect of such a movement might involve high school students going into junior high school for the purpose of aiding the teaching of students there, and in turn, having junior high school students go into elementary schools to help teach. This could progress on down the line so that sixth-grade students might help teach fifth-grade students, fifth-graders help teach fourth-graders, etc. Other advances involve exploring school curricula. For example, it is felt that it would be beneficial for children to know earlier in their development about some principles of behavior so that the lawfulness of behavior (the fact that behavior has reasons) would receive attention earlier than it typically does.

Conclusions

It is doubtful that we will ever completely solve behavioral problems by dealing with them after they are well established. The solution will have to come through prevention, and we must look more diligently for ways to alter conditions which cause problems. The role of the psychologist, special educator, and teacher should become more and more that of providing help to the classroom teacher whose correct application of known principles of behavior will help prevent future maladaptive behavior. We have far too long attacked behavioral problems after they have been well established. We must begin to work with the very, very young and arrange environments which will increase the probability that behavior problems will not occur.

Exactly how a community must proceed to reach such a goal is, of course, the real issue. We hope that the program described thus far will prove to be an important step.

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of the Michigan Department of Mental Health. Also deserving of much credit are Esther Weber and John Daley of the Kalamazoo County Mental Health Board, Ray Creager of the Kalamazoo Child Guidance Clinic and Cil Schmidt of the Kalamazoo State Hospital. Ken Otis, Superintendent, Vicksburg Public Schools and the Vicksburg School Board, who not only allowed but encouraged us to attempt a major portion of this project within their district, deserve a special thanks. In addition, a number of staff members from Western Michigan University, Department of Psychology, have been involved. These staff members are David Lyon, Howard Farris, Jack Michael, Scott Wood, Wade Hitzing (who holds a joint appointment at the Kalamazoo State Hospital), and Robert Hawkins (who holds a joint appointment in the Departments of Psychology and Special Education at Western Michigan University and in the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District as Special Consultant). Graduate and undergraduate students who worked on this project are: Darrel Bostow, Henrietta Brusky, Richard Cole, Lyle Danaloff, Darrell Davies, Sylvia Dulaney, Marilyn Flegal, Mary Fullmer, Bruce Cideon, Lee Hunt, Dick Kale, Cary Peake, Eugene Ramp, Paul Surratt, Marilyn Arnett, Brigette Symanneck, Paul Wayland, and Steven Zlutnik.

Finally a very special thanks to Mrs. Smink, Principal of the Indian Lake School and teachers Erma Sell, Judy Berghuis, Pat Mahaney, Carl De-Craff, Charlene Saunders, Donna Newell Wood, and Claudia Borders for it was at Indian Lake where the majority of the studies were carried out.

Other principals who gave us encouragement to try something different in their schools were Jack Blanke of Lincoln School; Keith Stout, Sunset Lake; Harvey VanDam, Lake Center; Glenn Jager, Fulton Elementary; and Larry Ditto, Tobey Elementary School.

Reprints of this report are available from Roger Ulrich, Department of Psychology, Western Michigan University or from Marland Bluhm, Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District Office, 508 East Dutton, Kalamazoo, Michigan.

The contents of this report reflect the views of the authors and are not necessarily those of the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District.

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The Lincoln Elementary School Projects: Some Results of an In-Service Training Course in Behavioral Psychology

W. SCOTT WOOD

In the spring of 1968, I conducted an in-service training course for several of the teachers at Lincoln Elementary School in Kalamazoo, Michigan. The title of the course was Psychology 517, Psychology of Education, and Learning for Teachers. Arrangements to have the course taught were made by the Principal of the Elementary School, Mr. Jack Blanke. The course was part of a more general in-service training program, jointly funded by the Michigan Department of Mental Health and the Kalamazoo Valley Intermediate School District. Dr. Roger Ulrich, Western Michigan University, is the director of this program. There were two objectives for this course: (1) to introduce the teachers to the basic principles of behavior which comprise the foundation of the modern field of behavior modification and (2) to help the teachers adapt these same principles into techniques of classroom behavior management that would have practical value for the elementary school teachers.[1]

To help meet this latter objective, the teachers were each assigned to carry out a classroom behavior modification project. The project required that the teacher be able to objectively measure and record the behavior of either an individual student or the class as a whole and then selectively modify that behavior toward some desired behavioral goal. These projects required each teacher to be familiar with standard behavior modification procedures, such as recording devices and graphing techniques, as well as required considerable creativity with respect to the application of the various principles of behavior.[2]

Many of these projects developed practical techniques of considerable merit, so I have summarized several of these. They are presented in the remainder of this paper. Hopefully, readers may be able to see how some of these same principles and techniques can be used in other similar settings.

In conclusion, I believe that these projects demonstrate that practical behavior theory can be taught in a course of this type and that classroom teachers are an interested and well-motivated audience for this approach.

CLASSROOM DISCIPLINE
by Stella Baker, 5th-Grade Teacher

Problem

I began my project by measuring the talking-out-of-turn episodes of a single talkative student in my class. The average number of these incidents was from ten to twelve times per day. However, during the week that I made these observations, I was forced to conclude that he really was no more talkative than some of the others in the class. So I decided to measure this behavior in the entire class.

Method

I recorded (on a golf counter) the number of verbal outbursts for the entire class for nine days. At the end of this period, I told the class what I was doing and that in the future, if the combined total for the class went over 25 in a single day, they would lose the gym period. A few days later, I indicated that if they continued to be successful on holding the outbursts down, they would be given surprises. On the 16th day, they received cookies.

After having missed two gym periods, the rate of unacceptable behavior dropped considerably. I then lowered the criterion from 25 to 15, and began to let the class have the last 15 minutes of the class to engage in activities of their own choice if the daily quota stayed under 15. Some of the activities that we decided upon were: (1) play games, (2) play outside, (3) chew gum (which they all liked to do), (4) tell jokes and riddles (in good taste), and (5) work on projects of their own choice.

In addition, I began to record the name of the individual who was talking out of turn on the blackboard with a check by his name. A total of three checks in a day resulted in that person having to sit at the back of the room in isolation for the remainder of the day.

Results and Discussion

The results of this project are shown on the following graph. Point A indicates the beginning of the time that the gym period would be withdrawn for excessive outbursts. Point B indicates the lowering of the contingency from 25 to 15 and the addition of the reinforcing activities for remaining under 15.

As you can see, the outbursts dropped from 38 to a low of one for a
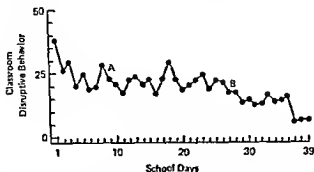
Fig. 1. Reduction in the frequency of classroom disruptive behaviors of a 5th-grade class.

single day. The children enjoy their work so much more now that sometimes they would rather use their free time on another day.

MY TOKEN SYSTEM
by James Black, 3rd-Grade Teacher

Problem

I started my project around one 3rd-grade boy, who constantly stayed out of his seat, which, to say the least, was annoying. The first six-hour session that I systematically observed his behavior, he was out of his chair fifteen times. I continued this observation for a total of eight classes.

Method

I decided to give the whole class stars as tokens for staying in their seats and doing their work. The stars are exchangeable for penny candy, candy bars, or they may trade in their stars if they want to sit with a friend. There is a regular price list set up for the exchange rate. They may also earn stars in other ways. When leaving the room as a group, the boys and girls compete against each other to get a star for the best behaved line. I have carried the rewards into the spelling area so that the best must get at least eleven out of fourteen words correct to get a star and the poorer spellers must get at least one more than the previous week to qualify for a star.

They may also lose stars. If they are out of their seats when they shouldn't be or if there are loud outbursts, they lose a star.

Results and Discussion

The chart shows the dramatic effect that the token system has had on the one boy's behavior. After the ninth session, when the tokens were introduced, the boy has been out of his seat no more than six times in one
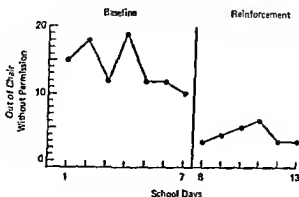
Fig. 2. *The interruptive behavior of a 3rd-grader.*

six-hour session. In addition, the entire class behaves much better, even when going out of the room to various parts of the school.

I've had generally good success with my projects, but some of the children give up too easily and throw their tokens away or sometimes give them to a friend.

IMPROVING THE BEHAVIOR OF A 2ND GRADER
by Eleanor Chase, Special Education Teacher

Problem

Tommy is a sturdily built, hyperactive, very verbal, borderline mentally handicapped boy. He is eight years old and in a special education class. He had several disturbing behavior patterns. He would blurt out in class whenever a question needed answering, never giving a thought to the other members of his class. Tommy also would move about the classroom whenever he wished. These are behaviors that needed to be changed for the sake of everyone involved, so these are the behaviors I attempted to modify.

Method

I began to record Tommy's behavior the week of February the 14th. The average class time was forty minutes. The average number of outbursts for the first sixteen days was seventeen times per day. At the end of the sixteenth day, I explained to Tommy how I had been using a golf counter to record the frequency of his undesirable behavior. We came up with a plan for his improvement—the first thing Tommy said after he found out what I had been doing was, "I'll bet you a sixteen-ounce Coke that you won't have to click that counter for the rest of the rest of the week." This sixteen-ounce bottle of Coke became the reward, or reinforcer, for the behavioral change. It proved to be a very good one. First of all, he had set the

rules and the reward himself. Tommy won his Coke and was very proud of it.

The next week, we decided together that at the beginning of each hour his name would be put on the board. If he did any of the things we had discussed as undesirable, then I would put a check after his name. When he received three checks, he was to move to the back of the room with his back to the class for the remainder of the period. However, if he had less than three checks, he could leave the class five minutes early to enable him to go down and pick up his little sister when she got out of class. At the end of the week, he would also receive a sixteen-ounce Coke if he had received less than a total of fifteen checks.

Results and Discussion

The effects of these procedures are shown on the graph. Since the sixth day of March, Tommy has only a total of five checks.
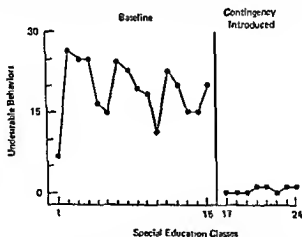
Fig. 3. *The frequency of undesirable behavior in a 2nd-grader.*

The change in Tommy's behavior has been good for all concerned, but it will still take a lot of hard work on Tommy's part to continue this new behavior pattern.

HELPING BILLY CONTROL HIS TEMPER
by Elaine Josephs, 4th-Grade Teacher

Problem

Billy is a young man who has trouble controlling his temper. He speaks out if he is not called upon, and these outbursts often contain profanity. I

decided to do something about the strength of this behavior. I wanted to weaken it.

Method

I began to record the frequency of these outbursts of temper on the week of February the 14th. Billy did not know I was taking this count. On the fifth day of my recording, Billy was expelled from school for cursing a teacher. On the day that Billy returned to the classroom, I explained to him that there were going to be some new rules in the classroom. I told him that I was going to keep track of his outbursts and that each time he went over 25 for a given day, there would be a penalty. He would have to sit in the corner, in a small desk away from everyone and would not be noticed by the teacher or the children. He indicated that he would not like this. However, he then asked me if he could try to stay under five outbursts instead of 25. We discussed the consequences, and he said that he would like to try it. He has and it has been at five ever since. There have been times when he did exceed the limit of five. Each time that this occurred, he went to the corner. In addition, each time Billy stays under five for the day, he receives some small treat or privilege. Sometimes he stays and helps me after class cleaning up the classroom, sometimes it's a special privilege such as going out to recess early or getting out of class ahead of time.

Results and Discussion

The success of these procedures are demonstrated in the following graph.
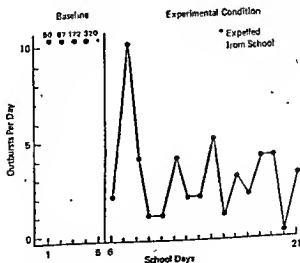

Fig. 4. The frequency of Billy's disruptive outbursts.

There has been a great improvement in Billy's behavior, even the children in the room noticed it and commented. Billy only has had to go to the corner two days and afterwards said that he would not go again. He has not gone to the corner since.

A Solution to an Annoting Problem
by Kathleen Marks, 4th-Grade Teacher

Problem

Last September the children in my class began to order milk, 12 to 18 cartons a day. Since they usually drank the milk during story time, the children were directed to quietly place the cartons on the floor when they had finished. After the story, the children whose job it had been to pass out the milk, would collect the empty cartons. I became aware that there was an occasional stomping on a carton or someone would smash a carton with his hand on his desk lid. As the weeks went on, there seemed to be much more mutilation of milk cartons, even though the children were frequently reminded of what was expected of them. Not only was the noise annoying, but usually a broken carton meant a messy desk top or floor or milk spilled on some child's clothing. So this behavior of stomping or squashing milk cartons was the one I wanted to modify—by eliminating it!

Method

For a three-week period, I refrained from giving any direction as to how to take care of the milk cartons, and unobtrusively counted how many cartons were crushed each morniog. During the first week, the percent of the milk cartons that were mutilated varied from 15 to 80 percent but the second week showed a little more consistency.

During a conference with the instructor, we discussed several possibilities for lessening this rate: (1) taking away the gym period. However, this involved another teacher about half the time. (2) Lining the offending child or children up at the back of the line at dismissal time. Unfortunately, this would have interfered with an already established method of leaving the classroom. (3) Keeping the child five extra minutes at noon. This seemed the most feasible.

The next day, after the milk had been passed ont, I told the children there was to be no crushing or mutilation of milk cartons. If anyone did crush his carton, I would write his name on the board and he would stay after school for five minutes.

Results and Discussion

The first day, one of that day's 13 milk drinkers finished drinking his milk, crushed the carton between his hands, and then immediately tried to

straighten the carton to its original shape. He stayed after school. The second day, I again reminded the children of the consequences for crushing cartons. Three out of fourteen crushed their cartons; they stayed after school. On the succeeding days, no reminders were given. The rate varied from zero to eighteen percent. Although it has been six weeks since this project ended, only two children have had to stay after school.
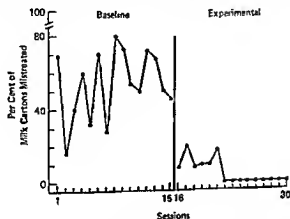

Fig. 5. *Reduction in per cent of milk cartons mistreated.*

I was very pleased with the results of this behavior modification project. Participating in this work has shown me how important it is to identify the behavior one wants to modify. When one must count and calculate the rate of an identifiable behavior, I believe that one may be surprised to find that the behavior was really more or less in need of modification than previously had been thought.

SOME WAYS TO WORK WITH KINDERGARTEN CHILDREN
by *Margaret Null, Kindergarten Teacher*

Problem

Since I am working in Kindergarten, for many of my students this is their first experience in a classroom. As is to be expected, some children adapt to the situation with no difficulty while others find adjustment to the classroom very difficult. Though my study did not start until January, I still had some discipline problems that I had held to a minimum but had not resolved.

For the most part, during play, milk time, and work at their tables, I expected the children to talk freely except when I call their attention to say something. But when we are sitting on the rug for instruction, I expect the children to be quiet and attentive for a reasonable period of time. I found

that the children crowded together toward the front of the rug and that most of our problems occurred there.

Method

I began by sectioning off the rug into squares. The children could sit wherever they wished but were to stay within their own square. I found that this in itself solved several of my problems because each child had enough room and did not feel it necessary to push, shove, pinch, etc. I recorded the incidences of discipline problems occurring in each spot on the rug and found that there were no more discipline problems at the back or edges of the rug than at the front. I feel that this is valid because the children, of their own volition, rotated on the rug.

I then decided that I might try to work the rug squares into a game period. I used several ideas. I put colored papers on the squares and then had the children find the square that I named. I would say a number and have the children count to find their square. I put the children's name cards on the squares and they had to find the square that had their name card in it.

At the same time, I began working on some of my more serious discipline problems when the children were off the rug. I had always used a great deal of praise and edibles as rewards for good behavior, but I had also spent much of my time giving attention to those who were misbehaving. This attention might have functioned as a reinforcer for the misbehavior. I began ignoring the misbehavior as much as possible. Instead of a word to the child who was out of order, I would praise one of the children who was acting correctly. I found this method to be much more effective and permanent in behavior modification.

Results and Discussion

Both the methods I used to modify the crowding and shoving behavior on the rug, as well as the attempts to increase the amount of praise I gave for good behavior and decrease the amount of attention I gave for misbehavior, have had positive results. I feel that the experiment has been very successful and would recommend these sorts of procedures to any kindergarten teacher.

A TOKEN SYSTEM IN THE 3RD GRADE
by Lois Ostrowski, 3rd-Grade Teacher

Problem

I teach a class of 28 third graders, 16 boys and 12 girls. This group had had three teachers in the second grade and the results were a group of very

emotionally insecure children. My first concern was to give each child a secure relationship with me, confidence in her own ability, and a good self-concept. I wanted to establish positive behavior in as many children as possible.

The first area I set out to improve was the way the children came into the room. They would run around, fight, go to my desk, sharpen pencils, go out into the hall, and do anything but take their seats. I established a base-line measurement by counting those children who took their seats. At the beginning, only two or three sat down. I took data for five days. The number of children out of their seats was almost overwhelming.

Method

The children and I decided we had some work to do. We discussed how we could earn stars, which were used as tokens. Each time a child came in and sat down promptly, a star was placed on his card. As their behavior improved, we decided we could be rewarded for staying in our seats, working quietly, cooperating with special teachers, etc.

The star tokens were accumulated and traded for certain things. The price list was like this: 15 stars for a sucker, 15 stars for bubble gum, 150 stars for being taken out to lunch, 75 stars for a ride home, 10 stars to wash the blackboards. In addition, the children are always praised for good positive behavior.

Results and Discussion

In general, the results have been very good, only two children have not responded to our token and reward system. Both are very emotionally disturbed and need more help than I can give them in a short year. How-ever, all the other children are responding very well. However, it is important to keep the situation very well structured so that they know exactly what they're supposed to do and what they will receive for it, or they seem to soon forget.

MEASURING AND SHAPING THE BEHAVIOR OF SUSAN
by Vonda Powell, *Pre-1st-Grade Teacher*

Problem

I chose to weaken a behavior consisting of loud outbursts by a six-year-old girl in my class, Susan. Susan does not live with her parents but was instead given to her present guardian by her mother. The foster mother worries about Susan's real mother coming to take her back. She admits to spoiling Susan and letting her have her own way most of the time. She is

that the children crowded together toward the front of the rug and that most of our problems occurred there.

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the only child in the home and is well dressed and well cared for. Susan is of average intelligence.

When I started to measure Susan's behavior, she was blurting out of turn without regard to anyone else in the classroom. She once did this for a total of 45 times in a single day. I recorded this data on a golf counter, obtained in my in-service training class, which I could simply wear on my wrist while teaching.

After five weeks of recording Susan's outbursts, I told her what I was doing. On this day I told her that if she could remain under 10 outbursts a day, she would receive a reward at the end of the day. I then fixed a box containing slips of paper with various rewards written on them, most of which Susan had suggested herself. At about 3:15 each day, if she had earned it, I let her draw out a slip and she could do whatever it said. These slips that were drawn out were then left out for the rest of the week so that she would not draw out the same ones over many times. Some of the rewarding activities consisted of "clean erasers," "wash boards," "have a candy bar," "go to the tape recorder," "take home some paper and old crayons," "be the teacher for ten minutes," "color in a coloring book," "paint alone at the easel," etc. However, if Susan did not stay under the maximum of acceptable outbursts, she had to go to the back of the room to an isolated desk to do her work, and, of course, would receive no reward that day.

An additional method that I used to record Susan's behavior was to mark an "X" on the board each time that I clicked the golf counter. This was done to enable Susan to see how many marks she was getting. After a week of recording in this manner, I let her have a paper taped on her desk that was marked off in squares, and she had to mark an "X" in each square if I put one on the board. She seemed to like this method and worked hard to keep from having to record any marks. The class was most interested in this recording too. They seemed to want to help Susan and never appeared to resent any extra attention she was receiving. Some even remarked about her quietness now.

Results and Discussion

The results of this project are depicted on the following graph. The first vertical line shows where Susan was first told about the new method. The second line indicates where the number of acceptable outbursts was reduced from ten to five. As the chart shows, she is doing very well and rarely has to go to the back of the room for exceeding her daily number.

I have been most pleased with the results of this experiment, and most of all, Susan is proud of herself. I am still using the reinforcers, but, of course, do not know what will happen next year in another situation. I do know this year that our room is much more pleasant and the class is happier because of Susan's improved behavior. I feel that she has a much better self-
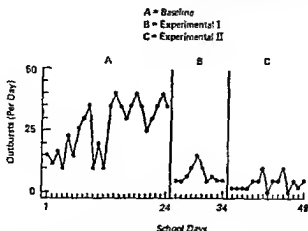
Fig. 6. *The frequency of Susan's undesirable behavior in class.*

concept because of the success of our attempt to modify her behavior, and this is most important. I would like to think there will be some carry-over the next year and that she will maintain some of the good behavior she had worked so hard to obtain.

How to Begin a Class Promptly
by Jill Stiltner, 2nd-Grade Teacher

Problem

The children in my class had some difficulty in settling down when they came into the classroom. Frequently many were still out of their seats when the last bell rang. I decided to attempt to change this situation by arranging things a little differently in the classroom.

Method

I began by simply counting the number of children not in their seats at the last bell both at the beginning of the morning and afternoon school sessions. In my class of 21, frequently as many as half of the children were not seated at the last bell. I kept this record without letting the children know that I was doing it for a total of eight days. On the ninth day, I told the children what I was doing and what would happen to them if they were not in their seats when the last bell rang. The punishment was that each child who was not in his seat would miss five minutes of Physical Education time. He would go to the Physical Education class but would have to remain standing at the back of the room for five minutes before he could enter into the games. I issued this warning both on the ninth and tenth day, with no

two weeks, I invited Nancy to come into the music room twice a week after school along with a few other children who frequent my room at this time to "just fool around." She came, and I let her play the bell sets, the piano, and if she wanted to, she could sing along with the rest of us.

During the first week of the after school meetings, she still did not sing, and her class participation remained at zero. During the second week, however, she did join in the singing after school. I immediately praised her and told her that she had a nice singing voice (which she did). This was done to reward or "reinforce" her singing and thereby strengthen that behavior. At this point, her class participation began to improve. We kept on with the after-school get-togethers, and I kept up the constant praise for her singing.

Results and Discussion

Nancy's progress is recorded in the following graph. Point A indicates the day that Nancy first began to sing in class after I had reinforced her singing in the previous after-school session.
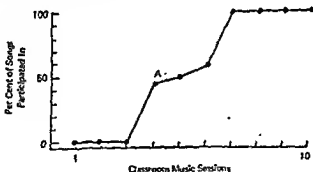
frequently takes the form of tapping or togging on my arm, interrupting other children, or saying "Get me this!" or "I want that." I decided to attempt to reinforce more desirable behaviors such as "excuse me," "please," or "thank you," or waiting in turn for my attention. I chose as a subject for this attempt a pre-1st-grade class with 18 children in it.

Method

Since I saw the class only once a week, for four weeks I recorded the frequency of what I considered to be desirable behavior. During these four sessions, only once did a child say "please." At the end of this period of time I talked with the children and told them that I would be looking for "good manners" and the "magic word." Both terms were familiar to the class. I did not mention that there would be any treat. This continued for two weeks. If an example of the desirable behavior had occurred during this period of time, as a reward or reinforcer, I would have given the child who made the response a "Sugar Pop" (a candy-coated cereal). During the third week I told them that if I heard the magic word or saw good manners they would receive a treat.

Results and Discussion

As the graph demonstrates, there was a decided increase in the number of desirable behaviors. However, it did not represent a large increase in the overall frequency of these behaviors. Some of the reasons why the change was not great are possibly (1) that there was too much time between the visits to the library and (2) that there were too many uncontrolled factors, for example, the choice of book might have been improving and, therefore, fewer children needed my attention. In addition, this was a very young class and the method might have been more successful had the children been a little older.
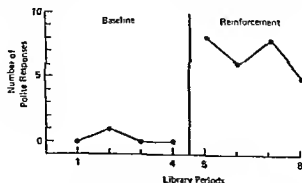

Fig. 9.   *The frequency of polite behavior in a pre-1st-grade class.*

many aspects of the teaching-learning process, it has biased us toward motivational assumptions which are quite inadequate.

There is some justification for ignoring the motivation question—or at least not stressing it. It is a complicated one, which forces or at least predisposes toward an analysis of vague and hard-to-be defined internal states. Admirably enough, Skinner and his colleagues have attempted to remain objective in their analysis and parsimonious in their interpretations. However, the question raised here is whether or not such objectivity and parsimony have hampered the effort. More specifically, I would argue that, because Skinner and his associates have not dealt with or not provided adequate answers to three major questions, they have limited the applicability of their approach.

It may be well to begin on a low key and refer to an instance where Skinnerian principles were right, but for the wrong reason. Research on animal learning generally has indicated that partial or intermittent reinforcement is more effective in preventing extinction than continuous reinforcement. However, none of the earlier linear type programs employed partial reinforcement, since it could not be accomplished easily or conveniently. Luckily enough, it appears that partial reinforcement would not have extended the extinction period in human subjects anyway. Rotter and his colleagues have shown that partial reinforcement is more effective in prolonging memory if, and only if, the learner perceives reinforcement as occurring as the result of chance factors or as the result of factors over which he has no control. If, however, the learner sees the situation as one in which his skill determines the administration of reinforcement, 100% reinforcement actually is more effective than partial reinforcement.[2]

Here a finding from the animal laboratory, through some happy circumstance, could not be applied to human learning, and all turned out well—at least as far as extinction is concerned. The point is that, by not becoming subjective and not being interested in the student's perception of the situation, an important principle was overlooked, or at least not uncovered. Whether or not it complicates the situation, reinforcement is filtered through the perceptions and cognitions of the subject. Only by finding how these perceptions and cognitions transform the reinforcement and ameliorate its effects can any progress be made. Objective definition and control of reinforcement is not sufficient for directing and subsequently changing complex human behavior. Heretical as it may be, confused and confusing as it may become, the subjective side of reinforcement cannot be overlooked.

There is yet another crucial issue, the matter of defining reinforcement. It is, of course, relatively simple to define reinforcement in a *post hoc* fashion. But how does one predict what will be reinforcing across a wide variety of situations?

[2] J. B. Rotter, "Generalized Expectancies for Internal Versus External Control of Reinforcement," *Psychological Monographs*, 80: 1, 1966.

Consider a rather simple situation, the performance of a reasonably bright college freshman attempting to work through a linear type programmed book designed to teach him elementary statistics. One may deduce from Skinner's work that, *ceteris paribus*, the student will persist at the task if he repeatedly is given some type of reward. That is, he will choose to stay with the programmed learning task, rather than opting out for some other alternative, such as reading a book or calling up his girl friend, if he is *rewarded* sufficiently for the task. Now what is considered to be reward, or more accurately, reinforcement, in this situation? A close analysis reveals that it simply is a matter of "being right," "getting the correct answer," as opposed to being wrong. This is a precise, operational definition of reinforcement in one particular situation. Furthermore, such a definition specifies a measurable variable, which may have predictive value in other situations of this type. But, as one moves away from the learning of elementary statistics to the learning of a particular physical skill, such as dribbling a basketball, is there any clue as to what the appropriate reinforcement might be? What is the "nature of being right?" What are the general principles for defining what "being right" will be in any given situation? There is only limited information provided within the confines of Skinner's theory which would help us to define reinforcement generally, and, therewith, predict choices under widely divergent situations.

To answer such questions, it may not only be desirable, but necessary, to dabble a bit with the subjective. Perhaps "being correct" is best defined as having one's *expectancies* confirmed or hopes fulfilled. In any case, it may be argued that, if we are to develop general propositions related to stimuli which are reinforcing and which are not, we might do well to consider some of the central propositions implicit in cognitive theories of motivation. For example, one could do worse than to approach such definition of reinforcement in terms of one or another theory of self-regard. Thus, reinforcement could be defined as feedback which, in effect, informs the individual not only that he is what he thinks he is, but that he is becoming what he wants to become in regard to any particular competence area. Such an approach does raise a host of questions, as well as methodological problems. The measure of a person's subjective frame of reference—his views of self, his expectancies and hopes—by no means is a sure science. But such an approach does greater justice to the situation. Furthermore, it may provide a more productive avenue than is implicit in rigid, objective analysis of what is believed to be reinforcement. The personal and very subjective frame of reference can be ignored only at a great price.

What is being suggested, then, is that if not only is desirable, but necessary to evolve a cognitive, and thus internal and subjective, theory of learning in order to handle complex human learning. Simple reinforcement-motivation principles, such as the importance of immediacy of reinforcement and the superiority of positive as opposed to negative reinforcement, are just too simple. They will not provide an efficient or easily obtainable solution

to the problem of getting the student to confront, persist, and learn from the educational task.

But the insertion of cognitive variables alone will not do the job. Reinforcement theories, as well as cognitive theories, have operated on the assumption that the organism could not get enough reinforcement—however it be defined. Return for a moment to our college freshman laboring away at the elementary statistics program. Repeated reinforcement should prevent extinction from occurring too rapidly on whatever skill is being acquired. However, quite possibly, repeated reinforcement will have another, somewhat unfortunate, side-effect. Repeatedly being right at a task may become quite "boring" to the student. As every good teacher knows, a task must be "challenging." This would seem to mean that it is a task which not only contains some promise of success, but also some possibility of failure. Can a task on which there is nothing but success remain interesting? There is a limit to the number of food pellets a rat can eat and the amount of grain a pigeon can swallow. Perhaps "success" and being "correct" can have satiating effects as well. When there is no risk of failure involved, the learning task soon may lose the attention of the student. It is doubtless true that some individuals will behave most appropriately under the regular and consistent positive reinforcement administered under some types of training conditions. A student who has had little or no success at a task in the past will, of course, not readily be satiated from success feedback. However, there is evidence that another type of student, the one who possesses a high achievement orientation, soon will reject a 100% reward situation. Atkinson and his colleagues report that, in the case of such individuals, motivation is highest when the probability of success is moderate.[3] In a preliminary study, Richard Videbeck and the author have found that when subjects were right only 50% of the time they showed the greatest amount of persistence at a task.[4]

This amounts only to a specification or quantification of what the educational methodologist always has thought. The student must be challenged, and the point here is that regular, consistent positive reinforcement may be assuring, but it certainly is not challenging.

The student may, and frequently does, become satiated with success, or may become bored with repeated confirmation of his expectancies and, therefore, potential failure probably is an important ingredient of the learning situation. It is thus not just because the student somehow must experience failure to anticipate and prepare for life fully. The reality of failure simply makes success meaningful and a successfully performed task interesting.

[3] J. W. Atkinson and N. T. Feather, A Theory of Achievement Motivation (New York: Wiley, 1966).

[4] R. Videbeck and M. L. Machr, Chapter 5, "Critical Reactions, Self Concept and Behavioral Preferences" (Final Report, U.S. Office of Education Contract OECI-6058399-0655, September, 1966).

In summary, any programming of learning must be based on the consideration that the student does think about what he is doing, and that his peculiar thoughts on the matter are the critical "motivators." Perhaps even more inmportant, I am suggesting that our learner is a creature who not only receives incidental pleasure from varied experiences. He is activated and is active only as it is somewhat unpredictable to him whether his competence is sufficient to the task. Thus, educational researchers would do well to grant equal time to current work on risk-taking and curiosity, as well as to studies of primitive and peripheral response learning—if they indeed are concerned with the question of motivation.

⚙ Self-Identity

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Every child needs to develop a positive and wholesome concept of the physical self. Studies of human behavior indicate that the self-image serves as a focus around which the individual solidifies and interprets his inner and outer experiences. Naively, a human being regards his body as himself. Thus, in planning enrichment experiences for our children which will result in optimum language development, we must consider those which will help the child to regard his physical self with confidence and appreciation.

Some of the ways in which the teacher can help each child to develop a definite and positive self-identity concept are suggested in succeeding paragraphs.

Teacher's Attitudes

Listen to, look at, respect *each* child; and let him know *daily* that you know he is there, that he is an important member and has his own particular place in the pre-school group. Encourage him (do not *force* him) to talk about personal things which he has made or is doing in the pre-school setting. Through verbal expression he will become more aware of self and begin to formulate understandings of self.

"Who Am I?"

Addressing

When there is a reason to address a child, call him by his name. Not, "You may feed our fish," but, *"Judy,* you may feed our fish."

When addressing children in a group situation, give instructions or make requests *first* before saying a child's name. This encourages children to listen more carefully in anticipation of which child's name the teacher will call.

Greeting

The children should be individually greeted by each adult as soon as they have entered the pre-school classroom. They should be encouraged to return the greeting.

An important part of this greeting period is taking time to listen to the child if he wishes to communicate further to the adult at this time.

Calling Roll

As early as possible in the school year, let the children become used to coming together in a circle group at the beginning of each morning (or afternoon) session. A simple discussion period should follow regarding plans for the day's activities (or, at least, those that will occur during the early part of the school day), to hear some special news from the children or the teacher, etc. Occasionally, a simple form of roll call at this time will help the children to become familiar with each other's names. At first the teacher may simply say, "Good morning, ___(child's name)___." Or she may greet each child by the use of a "greeting" song. Later when the children use language more freely, they may be introduced to the following name identifying game:

TEACHER: "I'm Miss Jones. Who are you?" (Or, "What is your name?") (Points to child)

CHILD: "I'm Brenda Lewis. Who are you?" (Or, "What is your name?") (Points to child of her choice)

The game continues until all of the children have had a chance to say their names. Teachers will think of other similar activities to vary this procedure.

Naming During Circle Game

The children sit in a circle on the floor. A large rubber ball is handed to one child. He rolls the ball toward another child, saying, "This ball is for ___(a child's full name)___." The child whose name is called picks up the ball and answers, "Thank you ___(sender's name)___." "Thank you" is the word combination which a child should be encouraged to say before the ball goes on its way to the next child.

Labeling Personal Possessions with Manuscript Lettering

Print each child's name on his drawings, paintings, and other "self" creations. In this way you can emphasize that they belong to him. Manuscript writing should be used for all labeling activities.

—Print child's name on his locker. Hold his interest by preparing a novel nameplate such as one made of macaroni or seashell outlines. Occasionally, make "fresh" nameplates. The children can gather around and watch this activity. At this time, structure the conversation in such a way that the children will begin to understand the meaning of first names, last names, boys' names, girls' names, towns' names, etc. You may wish to print the children's names in color. Let each child select the color of his choice for his own name.

—If the children engage in a cookie making activity which results in large, rolled sugar cookies, print each child's name on his cookie with a pastry tube and colored icing.

Table Place Card

On special occasions, make attractive stand-up place cards. At Christmas time you might choose an assortment of pictures of toys to paste on the different place cards. Make a child activity out of this experience. Immediately before snacktime, bring the children together in a circle. Read a poem about toys or sing an appropriate song. Lead the children to discuss and name a variety of toys. Then tell them they are going to have a place card with the picture of a toy on it to "mark" their place at the table. Let each child choose his place card. Quickly label it with his name, using manuscript lettering. At the table the children may tell the names of their toy pictures.

Health Kit

Each child will enjoy having a small box of his own with his name printed on it in which to keep a mirror, a comb, a toothbrush, and toothpaste. This box can be kept in his locker. Give him opportunities to use these articles. In this way a sense of pride in caring for his personal appearance will develop. These boxes may be covered with brightly colored paint. Permit each child to choose the color of his own box.

Gifts

It the teacher wishes to give the children small gifts on special occasions, such as during the Christmas or Easter season or on the final day of school, she should take time to wrap the gifts attractively and label them (manuscript lettering) with each child's name.

—Sometimes teachers may wish to make cookies at home to bring to the children. Print child's name on each.

"My Birthday"

Birthday Names

Celebrate birthdays each month by bringing a cake with the names of the month's "birthday children" printed on it in manuscript lettering. This should not be an elaborate undertaking. A sheet cake will do. Having their names on the cake will make the occasion an enjoyable one. At this time, read a poem or tell a little story about birthdays, sing the "Happy Birthday" song and provide oral language experiences by discussing the meaning of birthdays. "Who have birthdays? Animals? People?"

Remember to celebrate the children's birthdays which occur during the summer. This may be done either in September or during the last month of the school year.

If the teacher prefers not to have a real cake, she can reproduce a cake out of a round hat box, cover it with icing made from powdered sugar and eggwhite or colored paper and place paper candles upright on it (secured in slits cut in the top of the cake). "Happy Birthday" or "Birthday Greeting" is printed on the cake. On each candle is printed the name of each child whose birthday occurs during the month.

Sometimes use commercial candle holders and candles on a cake. Do not light the candles because of the school fire safety rule. Discuss the reason for this rule with the children.

Birthday Hats

Giving the birthday child a special hat or paper crown to wear for a part of the day on his birthday makes him feel that it is a "special" day for him.

Birthday Choice of Record, Song, or Activity

Let the "birthday" child choose a favorite song to be sung, a favorite record to be listened to, or a favorite activity for the group to engage in on the day of his birth date.

Birthday Cards

Birthday cards may be sent through the mail to each child on his birthday. If they are signed by *all* members of the pre-school staff, this will have greater meaning for the child.

"My Picture"

Snapshots

Take snapshots of the children. Place each child's picture on his locker.

Make homemade scrapbooks out of white newsprint cut into sheets for pages. Use construction paper or oil cloth for covers. Let the children paste some of their drawings and paintings, pressed flowers or leaves, which they have collected during nature walks, colored felt samples (the teacher should label these objects with names in color), and other similar articles in the scrapbooks. Place a snapshot of the child on his book cover and print his name under it.

Bulletin Board Displays

A number of bulletin board displays using the children's pictures as the central theme will suggest themselves. These pictures may be either cut-out pictures (colored by the children in order to establish self-identification) or snapshots. Here are some ideas for these:

(a) "Front-Page Newspaper" Motive. Use a headline such as: "Forty Children Attend Couzens Elementary Pre-School." Place pictures of each child on the "newspaper page." Place each child's name in manuscript lettering under his or her likeness.

(b) "Children Going to School" Motive. Place a large building in the background to represent the school in which the children are enrolled. Obtain a snapshot of the school building. Then use an opaque projector to enlarge the snapshot to the desired size for bulletin board use. Place figures or snapshots of the children in foreground. Identify each child by printed name underneath.

(c) Classroom scene of principal, teachers, children, teacher aids, clerks, and other familiar school personnel. Place name label under each individual.

(d) If you can do so, obtain family snapshots. Otherwise, let the children participate by coloring cutouts of each member of their family. Place family groupings on a bulletin display. Label each group with child's name: i.e., "Jane's Family," "John's Family," and so on.

Calendar Picture

On the calendar for the month place the child's picture (snapshot or self-colored cutout). Place it in the square containing the date of his birthday. Beside the child's picture, paste a birthday cake sticker. Place a small printed label of child's name under his picture.

"You Sing to Me"

Dress Up Clothes Song

Sing the song, "Dress Up Clothes" (p. 34, *This Is Music*, Adeline McCall, published by Allyn and Bacon). This song can be sung when a child wears a new suit, dress, a special costume, socks, shoes, hair ribbons, or hat. Sing child's name and ask the children to clap three times for the child for whom the song is being sung.

Songs About Clothes Child Is Wearing

Sing the song, "Oh, My Little Boy" (p. 17, *This Is Music*, Adeline McCall, published by Allyn and Bacon). This song can be sung at any time.

The teacher may say, "Now we will sing about Susie's blouse." Then the other children and the teacher sing, "Oh, my little (substitute "girl" for "boy" when appropriate), who made your blouse?" and so on.

"I See Myself"

Angels in the Snow

On a snowy day the children will enjoy lying flat on the snow to make a snow impression of themselves. Show them how to move their arms from their sides in an arc to make the impression of wings.

Drawing on Paper

Cut a sheet of heavy brown paper a little larger than the child is tall. Place it on the floor. Ask the child to lie flat on the paper. The teacher draws a heavy outline of the child's body on the paper. While the outlined form is still on the floor, it may be painted by the child according to his own color choices. The teacher may have to assist with the cutting out of the "image." Print the child's name on a gummed label and place the label on the front side. If the children wish, the teacher may display the figures along a wall, anchoring them with scotch tape or "Quick Grip" clips so they will stand upright.

Shadow on the Wall

On a sunny day (early in the morning or later in the afternoon) let the children experiment with seeing their own shadows against a wall. Encourage them to change the position and movement of their shadow by hopping, running, jumping, etc. Encourage discussion to increase simple understandings of the scientific properties of light. Sometimes let them form shadows by using a strong electric bulb which is turned on directly behind them. Read the poem, "My Shadow" by Robert Lewis Stevenson at this time.

"I Measure Me"

Weight and Height Activities

Give the children an opportunity to have both height and weight measured at regular intervals.

Height Chart

Draw a height chart on a heavy piece of cardboard. Place it upright against a wall with the bottom of the chart at floor level. Measure the children, each in turn. Place a mark (a horizontal line) on the chart to indicate the child's height. Print his name beside it. Later in the year, measure the children's height a second time and discuss the principle of how things and people grow taller.

Weight Activity

Bring a bathroom scale to the classroom or arrange to have the children go to the room where the health scale is kept. Weigh each child. Record each child's weight.

Make a bulletin board display of the children's weights.

Distance Around Waist Activity

For this activity, a ball of heavy cord is needed. Measure each child's waist circumference by using a length of the string. Cut the string into segments, one for each child's waist circumference. Then let the children compare the different lengths.

"Growing Up" Song

Immediately before or after these measuring activities, sing the song, "Growing Up," *Songs for the Nursery School,* L. MacCarteney, published by Willis Music Company, 1937.

"I Imagine Me"

Dramatic Play Activity

During a dramatic play period encourage the children to pretend they are: tying their shoes, eating their breakfast, combing their hair, buttoning their shirt or blouse, etc. The tune, "Here We Go Round the Mulberry Bush," may be used and they may sing, "This is the way I ___(tie my shoes)___," and so on, as they make imaginary motions to represent the different things they are pretending to do.

inadequate diet, lack of sleep, and inability to talk out problems took their toll. The children's self-concept and sense of worth were weak and negative.

School—a Drag

School re-enforced some of their worst inadequacies. These sixth-graders saw school as a prison, a place to avoid if possible, a trap of all their weaknesses. On the street, some of the children, especially the boys, had already earned status, but at school it was taken away. Among eleven- and twelve-year-olds, it was very "uncool" to be positive about anything having to do with school, even if one did find something attractive about it. The better the show of antagonism toward school, teacher, and lessons, the tougher one appeared and the higher one's status in the peer group.

The children's interest was extremely difficult to capture. As a group they were never able to remain calm for more than five minutes at a time. Any kind of instruction had to be given in as short a time as possible.

Ideally, teaching should have been done individually or in small groups. There was a negligible amount of group cohesiveness. On a sociogram made during the second week of the semester, no child received more than three choices. Some leadership developed, but it was effective only occasionally.

Group discussions and evaluations were almost impossible, since the children reacted with barrages of accusations and counteraccusations; tempers flared immediately and a brand new fight broke out. Riot-like conditions were not uncommon. One fight led to others in and out of the classroom.

During individual talks with children involved in some difficulty, there was rarely any sign of objectivity or of understanding the dynamics of the incident. Reasoning it out with a child did not seem to work. The confronted child always seemed to feel unjustly accused, persecuted, resentful, and blameless. It seemed impossible to help a child see the other guy's side, regardless of guilt. It seemed that the child always felt that he had been the sole recipient of injury so that no understanding could be reached and there were often recurrences the next day.

At this point it seemed reasonable to try role-playing.

Role-playing provides experience in seeing the relationship between cause and effect. Since wise choices depend on foreseeing probable consequences, role-playing would hopefully lead to the habit of using forethought and break the existing behavior pattern of impulsive physical outbursts.

A Preference for Action

Muriel Crosby (1), Hilda Taba (2), and Frank Riessman (3), all specialists in the study of disadvantaged children, have reported that children from low income families respond more fully and directly to action than to talk. Role-playing offers many opportunities. The informality, the

humor, and the empathy-arousing drama catch young people's interest, involve them, and hold their attention. Slum children, whose crowded homes and play settings condition them to working together, find the group aspects of role-playing natural. In contrast to their lack of attentiveness in ordinary discussion and their hesitancy to answer questions, they respond to role-playing more spontaneously and enthusiastically.

Pantomime

Since my pupils were reluctant to approach any activity that appeared unfamiliar or different, I thought it best to start the role-playing sequence with short, quick, warm-up exercises in which simple situations could be enacted in pantomime. I tried suggestions that Mark Chesler and Robert Fox made in their book (4) *Role-Playing Methods in the Classroom*:

Walking on pebbles barefooted.
Looking for a lost puppy.
Arguing with a silent umpire.
Eating potato chips, a lemon, pickles, cotton candy.
Throwing an ice cube, a feather, a hot potato, a ball.
Having a cinder in one's eye.
Carrying a heavy water bucket.
Lifting a heavy load.
Putting on a pull-over sweater.
Stand facing another student pretending to be his reflection in a mirror.
Walking a tightrope.

The authors list pantomimes that require some show of emotion, though no words:

How do you feel when:
it rains on the day of a picnic?
a large dog is running toward you?
you find a dead bird?
your baseball bat is broken?
you see people teasing a dog?
you are watching a funny film?
you get an A or an F on a test?
you see a friend who has been telling lies about you?

The authors also list problem situations for one main character:

Two good friends ask you to go to two different places at the same time.
Your best friend tries to talk to you while you're listening to an explanation of a lesson in math.
A friend tries to get you to sneak off the playground at noon.
You see two kids who are about to get into a fight.
You're walking by a fruit stand and your friend tries to get you to steal.
You're in the middle of a good game and some outsider runs away with the ball.

You're sitting doing your spelling work and the person sitting across from you starts shooting paper clips.

A neighbor tries to look at your answers during a test.

I began the pantomimes about the fourth week of school. The whole class was enthusiastic. It was the first time the class responded unanimously to anything I suggested. There were many volunteers, and I had my first opportunity to see the children in a fairly natural situation. They had been extremely guarded about any spontaneous expression outside of anger or hostility. We had not laughed together once before this first pantomime session.

Unrecognized talent emerged. Children who posed the worst behavior problems were the most enthusiastic participants and among the most gifted actors. Through the dramatizations, it became evident that many of the children were very observant of their physical environment, very much aware of weight, distance, pain, balance, temperature, and taste. They were not at all lacking in the involvement that seemed characteristic of their ordinary classroom behavior. For the first time I saw them laugh at themselves. For the first time I saw them show delight, amusement, and the kind of child-like joy that is easily found among middle-class children in ordinary situations.

For the first half-hour session, the children actually enjoyed one another in an unhostile, friendly, and accepting way. It seemed as if they were discovering things about one another they had never recognized. They would clap spontaneously at someone's good performance and look to where I was sitting as if to say, "Wasn't that great?"

Encore

The children who showed the most remarkable response were the two most hostile and most belligerent boys in the room. It seemed as if all the attention they had been lacking was suddenly available to them, and they clamored for more "pantomime" long after it was over.

The sessions gave me the first genuine opportunity to praise the two boys for something they felt great about doing. Previously, I had given praise honestly, but I sensed their rejection of it almost every time, since praise from Teacher was usually considered "uncool."

After Recess—No Change

I must add that my big disappointment came when after the first few pantomimes several children lost interest because they were not personally involved. I had asked some of them to take the roles, but they refused. After the first ten or fifteen minutes they showed signs of restlessness, but

did not disturb those who were still acting. During that first session none of the children who presented serious behavior problems lost interest. It was also disappointing that after recess the children showed no change in general behavior even though they had left the classroom with high *esprit de corps*.

I realize now that any change would have been miraculous. We had many long sessions before any sign of improvement had appeared. What misled me in my expectations was that in every other teaching situation, any such activity—whether dramatic play, construction, or art—yielded almost immediate results in building group cohesiveness. But not here in central Los Angeles.

After this initial pantomime session, I used every opportunity that lent itself to dramatization. In our social studies we were studying Nigeria. Any information that we read that could be acted out was dramatized on the spot. I found that this made the children eager to read more in order to be able to "pantomime." We pantomimed every aspect of our study, from tapping rubber trees to boiling palm oil. Perhaps the greatest value of role-playing was that it gave the children a legitimate opportunity to get out of their seats.

At the time I was reading them African folk tales from various sources written especially for children. The stories are excellent for dramatization, since they stress action rather than conversation. Furthermore, they are often about inanimate objects that come to life or animals that have anthropomorphic qualities. The stories can be used almost exactly as they are without any modification. They are short and follow a simple line of action in much the same way that Aesop's *Fables* do. The tales are ideal to build groundwork for more complicated role-playing. Many children who refused to take the role of a person accepted the role of an animal.

A Plea for Plays

After several weeks, role-playing or dramatization became a part of the curriculum. Certain children often said to me: "What were we doing can be acted out. Could we please?"

We played one folk tale for the principal and any visitor that happened to come to the class. This was an *activity the children definitely "felt" in the experiential sense.*

Still, the intense behavior problems continued. The fighting did not lessen. Peer hostility did not taper off. Perhaps the most positive outcome so far was that the children seemed to enjoy school more than before. During this period several of my worst offenders in the schoolyard and in the classroom were threatened with transfer to other classes. They met the threat with begging and pleading for another chance. I decided to perceive this as a positive outcome, though I was not ready to establish any connection between dramatization and the desire to remain in class.

A Problem Story

During the tenth week of school I introduced the first problem story, "But Names Will Never Hurt Me," from the book *Role-Playing for Social Values* (5) by Fannie R. Shaftel. Though I had warned the children that there would be no ending, they were quite agitated that it was so.

Many wanted to act out the story, but refused when they were called on. I suspect that they refused because of the ambiguity and the fear of making a mistake or of being unable to make up the proper ending.

We discussed possible solutions, which I listed on the board under two headings, "positive" and "negative." We laboriously acted out each solution, and I was gratified and encouraged to hear the children say:

"Well, couldn't you talk it over before you started to fight?"

"Hey, come on don't fight; it ain't gonna help."

"Let's go call the teacher."

"Callin' names ain't nothin' so bad."

There was also the usual, "I'm gonna get my brother, punk, don't mess with me." There was one mock fight, which the actors ended themselves.

When we took a final vote, the children decided on one of the negative solutions, much to my disappointment. I was perplexed at the time by the public sanctioning the vote seemed to give to fighting, but decided to keep trying.

I realized that it was easy for me to contaminate any kind of genuine expression if I too openly showed approval or disapproval at the time of the evaluation. It was entirely possible that they might be voting just to thwart the teacher's expectations, since they were so hostile toward any authority figures.

Pupils Become Playwrights

After recess I had a pleasant surprise. They asked me whether they might act out a play they had made up on the playground just before. Reluctantly I allowed it—but after arithmetic. I was determined to do some teaching that day, and they were quite stimulated from the excitement of the morning.

One difficulty of allowing "acting out" is that children tend to become perhaps even "higher" immediately after it is over. The teacher must decide whether she can stand the stress that accompanies such behavior. I tried to have a recess period immediately after the sessions. It was always difficult to judge when to stop and when to continue. One has to sense whether the class is becoming so "high" that the rest of the morning will be impossible. Whenever I could, I chose not to threaten the children with total elimination of the activity, since it would have defeated my ultimate purposes.

The play that the children worked out by themselves was quite simple

and unrefined in presentation, as I had expected. Loosely put together, though full of spontaneity and enthusiasm, it was about two children who had been in a fight and were now being represented by older brothers and sisters. There was a great deal of fast and loud arguing. A mock fight broke out, but it was quickly ended by some of the more peaceful adversaries and a firm matriarchal figure, who finally said, "Well, if you ain't gonna apologize, then just go home." This ended the play. The negative tone of the earlier play that morning was now replaced by a much more positive manner. I was encouraged.

The rest of the day classroom behavior seemed more acceptable, probably because of my own optimism over the second play. The two natural leaders in the class had enjoyed the venture. They were much more cooperative than usual in helping to get the class in order for dismissal. These same two leaders were the loudest, most stubborn, and often most unruly members of the class. They could swing in either direction. Dramatization brought out their better qualities more consistently than any other classroom activity.

Problems in the Audience

About half of the pupils in the class were still non-participants, however. When the plays dragged, these children showed a great deal of boredom and became so disturbing that they interfered with the play acting. The biggest problem was still how to involve everyone.

At the following session, the children again acted out a play written by the children themselves. Several girls were spending their free time writing plays with long elaborate lists of characters, little dialogue, and sketchy descriptions of the action. Since few of the children would be able to "read" scripts even if they were more adequately prepared, I decided at this point not to interfere with the playwriting.

On Social Life

A large group of children formed to enact one of these plays and begged for time to practice. The play they wanted to do was about a camp situation in which the boys and the girls came together and were expected to socialize. Since this was a pre-adolescent group, it seemed a natural theme. Meetings and introductions were elaborately enacted. An amazing degree of personality was revealed. Each boy or girl introduced himself and then interacted in a "social teen-age" atmosphere. I found the play useful for understanding some of the children's self-concepts. Some revealed a brand new side I had never suspected.

Again, leadership was clearly shown. I was beginning to recognize increasingly why certain children held power over their peers. I saw that the children who were decisive and fast-talking were the most popular. Quick

action, regardless of its appropriateness in a given situation, was the quality that was most admired and respected.

Georgene and Stewart, the two emergent leaders, had a great deal of "style" and were unquestionably considered "hip." Both were extremely aggressive and often brutal in their treatment of their peers. I am fairly sure that neither child was well liked, but both were feared and given the kind of respect that accompanies fear. It is not surprising that the children attached themselves to such authoritarian types. This is the kind of personality that has probably had the most influence in their own personal lives.

Standard Ending

The play ended in the usual "fight" between the boys, much to the girls' disdain. The playwright protested vociferously that she had not written the script that way, but no one was paying attention to the script anymore.

I was not overly distressed by the "violent" end, for a great deal of cooperation and accommodation had gone into the rehearsals. I had steered clear of giving any direction. I accepted the invitation to watch the final rehearsal on the playground, but made no recommendations. I wanted to see how the children acted toward one another when they had a common goal about which there was a fair amount of commitment. It was gratifying to see that they seemed to interact with more cohesiveness, self-direction, and harmony than I had ever seen in them before.

The next play the children presented was "Johnny Kotowski," from the book by Schaftel (5). Somehow the story did not reach them. No one wanted to accept a part immediately. Reluctance and lack of interest were obvious. The performance was artificial and muddled.

Shift to the Casual

I decided to go back to simpler story plots in which the action was confined to a single scene. It was hard for the children to change scenes without a great deal of direction from me; my interruptions tended to stifle spontaneity.

Also, I tried a more casual approach to the sessions. Often in the middle of the day when I sensed that the children were so restless that little constructive activity would be possible, I would say, "I need two people at the front of the room to do a play. You're going to act out a situation in which your best friend tries to talk you into leaving the playground at lunch time. Who wants to try it?"

The response to such spontaneous skits was enthusiastic. The results were becoming more natural and more delightful. The whole class became far more involved when the plays were short and quick than when they were long. Often we would end with a good laugh at something funny that

had happened and then resume curriculum activities. I sensed that the children—actors and audience—tended to forget themselves and become deeply immersed in the action.

I asked Georgene and Stewart to do the disciplining during these short skits. Since both were keen on acting, they ruled with an iron hand and order was easily maintained. I felt that this was useful, for peer-group control was developing. It allowed me to become part of the audience, free to observe and show approval without having to act as part-time referee.

The skits that dealt with stealing and other illegal behavior showed a lack of concern with morality; the only concern was fear of being caught. The ramifications were obvious. I had discussed the rightness or wrongness of an aggressive act with the children, but I now realized that this approach was inappropriate. At this point all that should be emphasized was the realistic danger inherent in an aggressive act, not the morality of it. This was no small discovery.

A Welcome Guest

At this time the principal asked to observe some sessions. The children and I welcomed the opportunity to have her as a guest. The children were pleased because her visit gave them an important personage in the audience. I was glad because I knew that her presence would make some deeper evaluation possible. Fewer children would openly attack each other as in previous evaluations. The attempts at evaluation had all too frequently turned into vicious accusations that created brand new conflicts. It must be said that this principal is an exceptionally sensitive, perceptive, and sympathetic person, who encourages any innovation that may have even the remotest chance of reaching children.

The Spelling Test

For the occasion two children enacted a skit about cheating during a spelling test. The skit was extremely well acted by the two culprits as well as the girl who played the role of teacher. When she discovered the cheating, she silently pulled one child away from his friend and went right on with the spelling test without uttering a single syllable of reproach.

We were able to have a discussion on cheating—how it feels to have someone copy answers from your paper, how the teacher feels about it. The class said that it was not really that bad to miss many words. All that happens is that you have to take the test again after you have had a chance to study the words once more. The children were unanimous in their approval of the "teacher's" method of handling the cheater. They were glad that she did not embarrass him. Having to cheat was embarrassment enough.

This was certainly the most successful session so far. Watching the

children at their most "mature" level gave the teacher and the children re-
newed hope. Because this class set a high premium on negative behavior,
this experience with maturity was a revelation.

In the afternoon of that same day, we had class elections, which were
held about every two weeks to give many pupils a chance to hold office. The
children voted out the incumbent officers, Georgene and Stewart, and chose
a quiet but powerful boy who said little, but could fight anyone on the
schoolyard. The former leaders were miffed and threatened to be disruptive
under any new officer. Subsequently, they refused co-operation on every occa-
sion, but the class and I did our best to ignore them. Unfortunately, the
next day, the new president got into a heated battle with a girl during arith-
metic and had to be suspended from school. The suspension gave the former
leaders fuel for their fires. I was uncertain whether to reinstate him or to
rule him out, as several pupils suggested. The problem promised to be a
good topic for the next role-playing session.

The following day the children were hostile. Fearing an excess of puni-
tive reaction, I did not bring up the question of keeping the new president,
Brian, in office.

Toward Give-and-Take

We played a scene in which two smaller children were being bullied
by the classroom tormentor and another child tried to intervene. Three sets
of children played the scene. After the plays were over, I asked the class to
vote on which was the best solution. Then I asked them to vote on the best
solutions as they thought their own mother might vote, as they thought the
principal might vote, and as they thought their best friend might vote. To
my surprise, they agreed unanimously on the most positive solution. It was
—in each election—the solution that offered a compromise.

A Break from Old Patterns?

Each of the three scenes showed a definite increase in verbal rather
than physical efforts to solve problems. At the risk of excess optimism, I
hoped that the children were beginning to realize that there is a way besides
physical reaction. I doubted that any of the role-playing would influence
their daily interactions, for when emotions run high, reason runs low. Still,
the fact that the children were beginning to even think of other solutions in
their calmer moments might be a sign that the role-playing was having an
effect. I chose to hope it was a beginning.

The Shaftel story "Trick or Treat" created eager participation (5). In
the story a mild prank results in a serious injury for which two innocent
children are blamed. The children enacted the scene in which one boy

attempts to persuade the other culprit to own up. Interesting arguments were offered:

"You ain't gonna be able to sleep if you don't."

"Your conscience is really gonna hurt your head."

"You gonna go straight to the devil."

"Man, if you don't tell, you got no soul."

As usual, the children who are in trouble almost daily are the ones who talk most freely along these lines. Yet on the day this play was presented I was distressed to see a knock-down, drag-out battle between the two boys who had made the most contributions in the discussion after the play. Evidently, any kind of transference would require far more play acting.

The trick-or-treat tale ended with the consultation of a juvenile officer, who took the pair of boys down to be fingerprinted. This turn of events led to a heated argument over what happens at juvenile hall. I explained briefly the appearance before a judge and punishment depending on the seriousness of the offense. One boy then asked whether the culprits in our story would receive a milder sentence if they agreed to pay for the damages. The whole class was excited by this suggestion, but some realists reminded their classmates that money cannot really compensate for physical injury.

Growth

I believe that I saw growth in the application of reasoning to problems when they were isolated in this way, but the lack of visible carry-over is discouraging and makes me wonder whether role-playing is worth the time and energy. Dare I take heart from the belief that though the children may not always come up with proper behavior, they continue to give the problems thought when they are alone or perhaps in a more comfortable atmosphere? That hope, it would seem, justified continuing this daily exercise.

"Keeping the faith" is not easy!

In "Shutter-Bug," from the Schaftel book, an individual has to make a decision as to whether to consider his desires or the needs of the group (5). The outcome was not especially meaningful. As I watched the presentation, I was wondering whether the story was appropriate when I overheard a small buzz group discussing the problem privately. "This," they were telling one another, "was just like the time when. . . ."

Guidelines for Tomorrow

At that moment I had a flash of insight that these experiences in the classroom may have far more value sometime in the future when the children will recall them, perhaps even as guidelines for their own plan of action. Right now, because of emotional immaturity, the children may not yet be

able to apply some of the solutions offered. Later they may well recall a similar situation and how their peers reacted. Maybe it is this process of laying bare the reactions of their peers that will ultimately be most meaningful. The recognition that everyone has similar experiences and has to meet conflicts that are more alike than different may give the children a measure of security they might not otherwise have.

The experience of watching and participating in these make-believe situations that are real and life-like gives the viewer a storehouse of experiences in human relationships he would not otherwise have. When children are removed from the emotionally charged context in which conflicts usually occur, they are likely to come to an intellectual understanding of what is going on. Whether their immediate subsequent behavior is affected is perhaps not so important—however desirable from my point of view—as the opportunity to observe and evaluate in an unthreatening environment. The fact that the children verbalize their conclusions poorly does not mean that they lack understanding.

I am making no final judgments on the basis of this semester's activities. I am far more certain of the potential value this process holds for "typical" classes than for the one I taught. I am also aware of my limited knowledge and experience in guiding these sessions. In the hands of a trained guidance counselor or psychologist, roleplaying is probably far more likely to be effective. I cannot even be sure that the ordinary classroom teacher ought to tamper with this sensitive area. Few principals would have permitted it, I am sure. I am grateful for the opportunity to try it and will continue my efforts.

The time to reach disadvantaged children is now. Role-playing offers some hope.

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⚜ Classroom Scheduling... "Compressed" for the Disadvantaged

THOMAS L. BOGUT

Perhaps every teacher in a self-contained classroom of disadvantaged pupils has three basic goals:

1. To broaden and develop cultural and sociocivic values.
2. To increase motivation.
3. To increase academic achievement.

And the "how" of achieving such goals constantly plagues these teachers. "Compressing" the curriculum (cutting time allotments for certain subject areas) is one possible solution.

Supposedly a student gets out of a subject what he puts into it. But can the amount of time spent on a subject be reduced while still maintaining or even increasing achievement? Is it possible to shorten the time ostensibly spent on a subject and to counteract this by working harder and accomplishing more? My experience with my compressed school day suggests that it is possible.

Procedure

The fact that according to commonly accepted norms the disadvantaged child does not care to achieve academically has been well documented by numerous studies. Therefore my compressed schedule reduced the time spent in academic areas of the curriculum (math, social studies, spelling, and so on) by approximately 30 percent. (See chart below.) And, as we experimented, these time allotments varied according to the class needs.

Pupils were told that if regular work was accomplished satisfactorily during the shorter time periods, free time "saved" could be used for activities of special interest to them. If work was not finished, it would have to be completed during the activity period. This idea was not presented as an ultimatum, but rather as a challenge to individuals and to the class.

Various activities were planned immediately: staging a play, building model airplanes, working on a 4' x 8' sand map of the world. Projects were designed to promote both "physical doing" and the sociocivic values of working together through democratic group planning. For example, if four

Minutes Per Day

Subject	Normal Schedule	Compressed Schedule	Time Saved
Planning	10	10	none
Literature	15	none	15
Reading	65	45	20
Handwriting	10	5	5
Language	30	20	10
Spelling	20	10	10
Math	45	30	15
Social Studies	60	45	15
Science	30	20	10
Physical Ed.	30	30	none
Music	20	15	5
Art	30	30	none
Total Time	365	260	105

bottles of glue were needed, only three were provided. Thus, planning and sharing were necessary to accomplish goals.

At first, there was great enthusiasm. A slightly reduced work load for a few days also helped establish a pattern of success so that every child was able to go to his chosen activity. But after about two weeks, the number of children "slackening off" began to increase. The unusual amount of energy expended in the classroom was beginning to tell on their performance.

We then adjusted our compressed schedule so that it was in effect only three days a week. Work tempo again picked up and the class seemed to settle into a comfortable routine. Interspersing of regular and activity days apparently gave pupils a reason for looking forward to tomorrow.

Preliminary Conclusions

It appears that no loss of achievement resulted from altering our schedule. No empirical data was obtained, but an increase in achievement was noted.

Absenteeism was down considerably. (Some of this could also have resulted from more pleasant weather.) Enthusiasm was evident, and pupils acted fairly happy even while working on more difficult academic subjects. Pupils seemed to tire less easily. Discipline improved. Less teacher effort was necessary to keep order and encourage achievement.

Perhaps the effectiveness of our compressed schedule can best be summed up by pupils themselves, who were asked to write their opinions of this new schedule:

"I like it because it helps the kids and me work harder to get things done."

"Yes, I like it. It gets more kids to do their work."

"I look forward to the afternoon. It is fun . . . I don't have time to goof around. I have to get my work done. . . ."

"I like it. I get my work done faster and we are learning stuff in the afternoons."

"I like it because I get my work finished now. I didn't before."

Extra teacher planning is required for this scheme. Class pride must be stimulated and challenged. The teacher must carefully analyze his pupils to determine the most effective procedure. Whether or not academic achievement improves is really secondary to the attitudes toward school that are developed. For many of my class, school became fun for the first time.

⚙ The Longest Hour

FRANCIS ROSS KATZ

Note: The following article is not a philosophical treatise on education, art, or youth. It is a presentation in dramatic format of a list of suggestions; it is meant to serve as a practical guide, a primer for the teacher of "inner city" art classes. I am firmly convinced of the need for just such an article. Too many potentially good and even excellent teachers—individuals who are sincerely interested in educating youth and who are knowledgeable in their fields—leave teaching forever because of traumatic difficulties in their first year. They come, full of high ideals, totally unprepared for the problems presented by the characteristically low I.Q. "culturally disadvantaged," explosive individuals who are to be their students. This article is, in effect, a survival handbook—distilled from the experience of a survivor.

A door slams shut. The inner city teacher faces his first class. His moment of truth has come. Will he emerge shell shocked or smiling? It all depends, of course, upon whether he meets and overcomes, or is overcome by the enemy. Each individual must meet his fate alone, but there is an old proverb which maintains that "Fore-warned is fore-armed." The purpose of this article is, therefore, to warn and help prepare, if possible, an inner city teacher for his baptism of fire.

First Impressions: Yours and Theirs

The ability to size up the opposition at a glance is a very useful attribute and, unfortunately, one which comes only with practice. In this area, your students are one up on you. They have had many teachers; they have seen numerous substitutes come and go, and they have become quite skilled in taking the measure of a teacher with a single, unwavering stare. The stare itself can be notably disconcerting to a new teacher.

The students will also attempt to unsettle you by other means. While passing in the halls, they may pat you on the back, make amorous remarks, utter profanities, or simply comment derogatorily on your status (as happened to me on my first day): "You're a teacher? Hah!" You will no doubt

be running scared. You will probably feel faint in the halls, but do not blow your cool. You can still carry the day if your act is fairly convincing.

At this point, I feel that it may be of value to discuss the importance of acting, of playing at the role of teacher. You may be sincerely interested in youth; you may be truly concerned about the problems of education; you may be thoroughly knowledgeable in your field; this is all necessary and good. Without these attributes *you will never really be a good teacher;* but, in and of themselves, *they are not enough,* especially in those critical first few days.

On the first day all important thing is to establish control. You must be in charge of the situation, and the students must realize it. In order to achieve this important objective, you must be able to exude confidence in yourself and your authority while at the same time keeping the students off balance. No mean feat! And it is here that acting is so important. Study yourself and know what you want to do and say—before you face them.

If you regard yourself as an actor trying to win over an unusually difficult audience, rather than as a teacher ready to impart knowledge to eagerly waiting minds, you will have the gall to do and say things which you would not normally do. You will put effectiveness before dignity. You will *utilize every aid,* every gimmick you can think of, to attract and hold their attention. Before you can hope to teach them, you must win them over. The classroom is much like a stage, and you're on. So come on strong.

The Battleground

The classroom is your bailiwick. Concentrate on establishing and keeping order here. Leave the halls and stair-ways to the experienced veterans. You will have more than enough to du in your own classroom. Devote your energies to maintaining yourself in control here, and don't try to rule the world. (Yet.)

Confrontation

The wise actor stays hidden in the wings until it is the moment for him actually to walk on stage. I have found that a similar approach is good in teaching, at least in the beginning. Stay in the hall *as long as possible.* Let all the students enter the room before you do. If you are in the room first, you will have to stand nervously and ineffectually by, while they enter, scuffle over seats, drop books, sharpen pencils, size you up, and attempt to unsettle you by all means in their power. Try to be sure that the latecomers have also arrived before making your entrance. Unnecessary interruptions will distract the students' attention, and you run the risk of being totally upstaged by these latecomers since they are generally the worst trouble-makers..

Now the halls are empty. It is time for you to go in. Make a grand

entrance. If there are two doors, shut one, walk to the other, and enter. If there is only one door, enter, and shut the door. Flick off the lights. (For about 30 seconds, that is!) Even if they are almost unteachable, their curiosity will get the better of them, and they will probably sit down and stop talking. There may be a few comments: "Hey! The lights went out." "Whew!" "Weirdsville," but these will soon stop. You have momentarily thrown them off balance, and they will wait for your next move.

Take a deep breath and begin talking—slowly. You may not realize it at first, but many of these students cannot grasp more than one simple thought at a time. Do not talk faster than they can listen. Your first line might well be: "When I flick off the lights, it means that talking is over." There will probably be a comment: "Is this guy for real?" "Oh yeah?" Do not let it pass unnoticed. The students will react positively or negatively to every action of yours. You must, in turn, react to every action of theirs. Devise a system for dealing with every deviant.

For example, as above, a student has called out. Ask his name. Write it down. If you didn't get the name, pretend you did. Don't ask again and make the mistake of letting the student draw you into a verbal duel. Write, or scribble something, with conviction. The culprit is thus singled out, and the rest of the class will be waiting to see what you do next. You must now spell out for him and them the consequences of such actions. Explain that any gentleman or girl (the term "boy" is often resented by the students; avoid using it) who is spoken to more than once will be called back after school for appropriate punishment. The student thus singled out feels that he has a choice; he need not be punished if he does not repeat his offense. You have made your point without unfairly using him as a scapegoat.

Do not arbitrarily punish the whole class for the misdeed of several. The students must feel that they are responsible for their own action. In this way, they come to feel that they have a choice, that they will incur punishment only by their own choosing; they will not arbitrarily be punished en masse. They are, in effect, the masters of their own fate, rather than mere victims of an impersonal disciplinary despotism. Once the students have seen that you take action, even if the action is merely scribbling down a name after someone calls out, they will be wary. Contrary to the opinion of some teachers, no student wants to stay after school, even to imitate a teacher.

Now is an excellent time to lay down the ground rules. I have found it very effective to distribute a mimeographed sheet of rules. This approach has several distinct advantages over a merely verbal presentation: 1) The rules are there in black and white for all to see and are thus more real to your students than mere words; 2) The printed page gives them something to look at—besides you; 3) It aids you in remembering all the things that you want to say and also serves as a physical reminder to the students.

I now ask for a volunteer to read aloud the first rule, and, amazingly enough, there are always several—this, despite the fact that most of these students can just barely read. Remembering my basic premise that "For

every action there must be a reaction," I now introduce my system of positive reinforcement. I explain that for anything good (an answer to a question, passing out paper, etc.) which students do in my class, they are given a credit. The credits are duly noted on the marking sheets which they are required to bring to class each day.

This may seem downright silly to you. It is no doubt reminiscent of putting gold stars on first grade papers, but its effectiveness cannot be overstated. Once the students see that you react to their good, as well as bad, behavior, they will give you an overwhelmingly positive response. In fact, when basic and special classes respond, they will probably overwhelm you. For many of these individuals, it is the first positive recognition they have ever received from an adult, and as such, it is an infinitely more powerful force for discipline than the sternest system of punishment. Let me merely point this up by noting that when I stumbled upon this credit system after two absolutely hellish months of teaching and saw its results, even in the chaos of that first classroom, I would have gladly given a nickel of my own money for every credit! The bookkeeping involved is not at all as formidable as it at first appears. After a few days, you can do it all in the last minute of class.

Here let me mention that I am not putting forth my system as "The Way and The Truth." It is merely a system which I have evolved after four years of teaching—a system which works for me. You will no doubt wish to develop your own. By all means do so. Use whatever works for you. Set up whatever order will feel most comfortable. Just remember the basic rules: 1) For every action, there must be a reaction; 2) Never underestimate the power of positive reinforcement.

By the way, if you are reading this after having already lost control of your charges, don't give up yet. Sit down; think about how you would like things to run. Make notes; list the steps necessary to get supplies to the students with the least difficulty. Consider rearranging the desks; sketch the way you would like the room to be. As soon as you have a tentative system, begin to implement it in your classroom, no matter how bad the situation may be. Even if it doesn't seem to have any notable effect, if you are consistent in its use, you will at least get practice in its use. Practice it, polish it, and you will be surprised at how much a part of you it will become. And then take hope; remember, classes do change. Soon you will have a fresh chance, and think how much better prepared you will be.

About ten minutes of the period have gone. You have made your grand entrance, singled out a deviant for a demonstration of· discipline, passed out mimeographed sheets of classroom rules, and introduce your system of positive reinforcement. They are now raising their hands to volunteer to read the rules. The first major skirmish has been won. Now, onwards to victory.

Once the rules have been read and discussed in detail, take the time to explain anything and everything else concerning classroom behavior and

procedures. Basic and special students cannot cope with uncertainty or an excess of freedom. It confuses and irritates them. They feel more comfortable, and, hence, work better in a tightly controlled environment. Have a procedure for everything—even to the point of absurdity, and spell out the procedures for them—in detail. Remember, it is much easier and safer to abolish old rules when they are no longer needed than to try to introduce new ones after anarchy has set in.

Designate by which door they are to enter and leave. Insist that they raise their hands to participate, rather than call out at random. The students will be quite willing to accept this rule if you explain to them the reason behind it, namely, that you cannot write down forty credits at once. Stress the fact that they are not to leave their seats without permission. If you do not insist upon this, your art room will resemble Times Square at rush hour, what with twenty or more students up and milling around. They are masters at finding excuses for such peripatetic activity: sharpening pencils, getting paper, and so on—*ad infinitum*.

Seating

Satisfactory seating arrangements are largely a matter of personal preference. Use whatever arrangement seems best for you. Among plans which I have used are: 1) *The Jesuit method of seating according to grades*. After each test or project, new seats are assigned on the basis of the marks. This system has excellent results, but requires quite a lot of time. 2) *Alphabetical seating with segregation of the sexes*. This method has an abstract order and logic, yet, in reality, puts people together quite arbitrarily and may result in friction.

My first approach has been to allow them to enter the room the first day and take the seats which they want. I then ask if anyone is unhappy with his seat (which is seldom the case) and make up my seating charts from there. This somewhat unorthodox system has several definite advantages. Since the students will inevitably carry on conversations with their friends, it is better if they are next to each other. This way they will not be passing notes and yelling across the room. There is also notably less incidence of the fights, verbal or physical, which sometimes erupt from unfortunate seat-*ing placement*.

I would also like at this time to point up a few of the advantages of the square of tables (or desks) type of arrangement. This system is especially well suited to an art room. Supplies are more easily distributed and cared for, since each square has its own "Supply Captain." There is no longer the problem of things being dropped, as happens when students sit in front of or opposite one another and pass things. The division into several small groups makes discipline considerably easier. Five or six squares are easier to supervise than forty individual desks. It is also easier for you to walk around without bumping into and disturbing the students' work. Again I say, this

arrangement, while obviously my preference, may not at all suit you. If it does not, by all means devise and utilize one which does.

By the time you have completed the orientation session, twenty-five or thirty minutes will have passed. Now stop; ask for the hands of those who have read or helped in any way. If you have a seating chart, just put a dot next to each name. It will take less than a minute. If you do not yet have seating charts, faking it is better than nothing. Just scribble when their hands are up. You can always keep a more accurate record later, but now the semblance of order is the important thing.

At this point you may begin to sense that something is happening. Order is evolving out of chaos. If you have been even moderately successful, you will discover that this order, this system, is not a dictatorship arbitrarily imposed by you, but a working partnership—a form of self government which the students support by their participation. This realization is an exhilarating one and one of the joys of teaching. Savor it, for you have earned it.

If you wish to retain the cooperation of your students, please refrain from calling arbitrarily upon them. I myself used to hate this tactic when in school (although I was a good student), and to these students for whom all school is an imposition being thus singled out when they do not want to participate is particularly insulting. This tactic also antagonizes those who do wish to participate and have raised their hands only to be ignored.

If you are confident enough at this point, you may go further and offer the students the option to participate or not, as they choose. I tell them that they do not have to do anything at all in my class. In fact, they may sleep all year as long as they are quiet and do not disturb the others. I explain that I will have to give them a failing grade but that I will not otherwise bother them. This offer is not as foolhardy as it appears, for it has not yet been accepted by even one of the more than one thousand students whom I have taught.

This is a good time to congratulate, for not being spoken to again, any student whose name you may have written down for talking. You cannot thank these students enough for their cooperation. They so seldom hear a word of thanks from anyone, particularly a teacher. If, however, you have had to speak to someone twice, do not fail to get him back after school, even if you have to telephone him at home. Students have only contempt and even hatred for those teachers who cannot compel their obedience and respect. Fail to be as good as your word, and you are lost.

If they are sitting quietly, and you feel sufficiently in control, you may now attempt a little art work—nothing involved. Actually, you just want something to keep them occupied while you reflect on the progress to date and touch up any rough spots still remaining. If you feel that anything is not suitably clear to them yet, go over it again. You may think they will be bored, but better bored for five minutes than muddled for nine months.

Assuming that all is well, pass out blank paper and assign the first

project. Try to write everything down—either on mimeographed sheets which you hand out or else on the board. Keep your directions simple and few. For example, for this first assignment, I write on the board: "Write on the back of the paper your name and class number." "Draw anything which you have drawn before: in art, in school, or at home."

Stress with this first drawing that they don't have to finish. You only want to see what they can do, what they have done before.

This project is a good first day assignment for several reasons: 1) It keeps them busy while you catch up on your bookkeeping or make up seating charts; 2) it gives you an opportunity to see what they can do in terms of art and enables you to form some idea of where to begin; 3) It requires a minimum of supplies: paper and black crayons are sufficient.

Supplies

At first, keep the supplies minimal. Do not get yourself tangled up with the confusion-producing, time-consuming distribution of elaborate supplies. Eventually you will be able to handle anything, but for now, the important thing is order or the semblance of order.

Count or pretend to count everything. You will thus convey to the students the fact that you care about the supplies—and if you don't, they certainly won't. Also, if the students see that you do care about the supplies, they will begin to suspect that you may care about their work, and possibly even them!

Now that they are actually sitting there drawing (!), you may take a minute to survey the scene. This is an excellent opportunity to make up your seating charts or do other necessary bookkeeping tasks.

Now to rejoin the fray. Walk around the classroom. Observe the students' work. Lean on their desks; criticize their drawings with them individually. The students respond unbelievably to any form of personal attention. Do not be afraid of getting physically close to them. Some of them may smell bad; they may be dirty, shabby and otherwise repellent, but if you do not hesitate to come in contact with them, if you show them that you are not frightened by these things, that you do care, they will respond to you—more than you believed possible. Just give them a chance. If however, you let them see that you are physically afraid or repelled by them, they will hate you and take every chance they get to make things unbearable for you. Remember, cleanliness—far from being next to godliness—is a relatively recent phenomenon, still primarily a middle class obsession. Socrates was in reality a dirty old man, as well as a great sage.

Display of Work

Take every opportunity to display student work. Towards the end of each class period, pick up a few examples and staple them to a bulletin

board in the front of the room. This gives them something to focus on at the end of the class and gives you material for discussion if a minute or two hangs up. If you are rushed, you can at least mention, "Look at these as you leave."

There are now only about five minutes remaining in the period. It is *now time to wrap things up neatly.* I now go over the marking sheets with them and show them how to go about recording their extra credits. I also answer any questions which they may have.

If you had written some names on the board and they have not been reprimanded again, make a point of erasing the names and thanking the individuals for their cooperation. I cannot overstate the good effect this will have.

If someone is due back, however, make sure that he knows this. If he responds (as he probably will) that he is not coming back, do not get shook. Do not get into a harangue with him; he is an expert in this form of battle and will undoubtedly outmaneuver you. Simply inform him—with unruffled calm and icy self-assurance: *"Fine. Your name will be sent to the office, and you will return tomorrow—under the care of the vice-principal."*

The last minute of the period is as important as the first. This is what they will remember. Dismiss them smoothly. *Make certain that the impression which they take away with them is one of order*—an order managed by an individual who is as good as his word, a valuable friend but a formidable enemy. They have gone. You are alone now. You have met your fate, and I hope and trust that you have emerged smiling. If you have not yet been put to the test, I hope that some of the ideas put forth in this article may help prepare you, in some measure, for that critical moment of truth. If by some chance your classes are different, are *paragons of sunshine and light,* I congratulate you on your good fortune, but I do not, however, envy you. There is a challenge, an excitement to working with these inner city students which can never be experienced in working with *more gifted, less troublesome* students. These students, because they have so much less, are, in and of themselves, more.